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NARRATIVE

OF A

MISSION TO BOKHARA.

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Mirza Abdul Wahab del.

GARDEN OF THE NAYEB.

NARRATIVE

OF A

MISSION TO BOKHARA,

IN THE YEARS 1843—1845,

TO ASCERTAIN

THE FATE OF COLONEL STODDART AND CAPTAIN CONOLLY;

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH WOLFF, D.D., LL.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER XII.

Colleges of Bokhara. Manner of Lecturing. Derveeshes fed by Ameer. Jewish Synagogue at Bokhara. The King of Bokhara attached to the Jewish Religion. Bokhara and Samarcand. Singular Report of Dr. Wolff, that he understood seventy-two Languages, knew seventy-two Religions, and had conversed with seventy-two Nations, and that he had come from Sulmistaun to convert the Bokharese. Makhram sent from the Ameer with a Question, How the Authenticity of the Christian Religion is shown? Answer. Makhram sent again, with a Request that the History of Muhammed, as related by the Learned Men of Europe, should be written by Dr. Wolff, and transmitted to the King. Dr. Wolff consents, on the condition that he should not be forced to embrace Muhammedanism. Dr. Wolff writes the Life of Muhammed. Life of Muhammed.

The day following the conversation with the Nayeb, given in the previous Chapter (it was on a Monday), the Makhram, Dil Assa Khan, and myself, mounted our horses. Dil Assa Khan now began to ride near me, the Makhram Kasem spoke in a friendly manner, and pointed out to me the colleges of Bokhara, which are splendid and beautiful buildings.

In these colleges the writings of the learned Sunnées, as well as of the Sheahs, are read and discussed. Oratory, rhetoric, poetry, and logic, are studied, besides the *Koran;* disputations are carried on

in a scholastic manner; Jelaal, Beydawee, are read. They take as their guide the schools established in Yemen. And, as I have witnessed it when in Yemen in the year 1837, it is remarkable that the very mode of opening their lectures is taken from the manner adopted in Yemen. The teacher as well as disciple lifts up his eyes first to heaven, the palms of his hands are then turned to his face while the Fatkha is recited, and then they stroke their beards; and I must observe that all judicial transactions are opened in this manner, and after a present is given from a superior to an inferior, it is also recited. The same custom exists in Yemen, and only in Yemen, by which it appears to me that Bokhara has taken her customs and manners from the learned of Yemen. They have a convent at Bokhara, dedicated to the famous derveesh Mawlana Jelaal Uddeen, who centuries ago went from Bokhara to Iconium. The dervecshes at Bokhara are fed at the expense of the Ameer, but he does not allow them any impertinent acts, and frequently bastinadoes and puts them to death.

The Synagogue of the Jews at Bokhara is a very ancient building, but quite out of repair. The Ameer gave his consent during my stay there to the Jews, to repair the synagogue a little, but not to extend the ground. They have here an ancient MS. of Daniel, and in Chap. VIII. is the number two

THE GRAND CAZI OF BOKHARA.

thousand four hundred, instead of two thousand three hundred.

Though the King of Bokhara is a friend to none, yet he seems to have some predilection for the ceremonies of the Jewish religion, and frequently goes to the house of Rabbi Simha on the day of Tabernacles, and sees them celebrate that feast, and partakes of their dinner. He has never seized on a Jewish woman, as he has done on the wives of his great ministers. He has even seized on the wife of the excellent Grand Cazi, whose awful portrait we subjoin. He is also anxious to learn from them their views of the Messiah.

I shall now take this opportunity of saying a few words on the cities of Bokhara and Samarcand.

Bokhara is situated in 39° 27′ north latitude, 80° 19′ east longitude. It is surrounded by deserts, and watered by the little river Wafkan, which flows between forests of fruit-trees and gardens. It has eleven gates, and a circumference of fifteen English miles; three hundred and sixty mosques, twenty-two caravanserays, many baths and bazars; and the old palace called Ark, built by Arslan Khan one thousand years ago, and has about one hundred splendid colleges. The houses have neither roofs nor windows. The population amounts to one hundred and eighty thousand, composed of *Tatshicks*, Nogays,

Affghauns, Mervee, Usbecks, and ten thousand Jews, who are dyers and silk traders, and must wear a small cap, and girdle around their waist, to be distinguished from the Muhammedans. There are several thousand slaves. There are about three hundred merchants from Scinde, and many derveeshes. Whole streets contain nothing but shops and magazines for merchants from all the parts of Tūrkistaun, Cashgar, Hindūstaun, and Russia. There are great numbers of country houses, with gardens called Jehaar-Baghs, all around Bokhara. Most delightful villages are to be found eight miles around Bokhara. A sickness prevails, chiefly in the city, called *Rishta* —an immense worm comes out of the knees, and makes people frequently lame for life; it is ascribed to the water. Ophthalmia is also prevalent. There is only one Jewish physician of some skill, who prides himself on knowing the sense of the word "antimonial," and perpetually uses it, as Abdul Samut Khan prides himself on knowing how to say, "Halt! front!"

Karkée, near the Amoo, is a strong town, with one hundred and fifty houses, about one hundred English miles from Bokhara.

In the cities of Oratepa, Karakol, and Jesagh, chiefs called Serkerdeha have their but they are now much oppressed Behadur, the present King of Bo-

khara, who often takes possession of their wives and sons. * * * * *

The chief of the mullahs at Bokhara has the title of Mullah Kelaun (grand mullah), a man of excellent character, who deplores the murder of poor Stoddart and Conolly.

Of Samarcand, the rival city, formerly the place of residency of Timur, in the midst of the beautiful valley Soghd, I have to remark that it was not long since the seat of the King of Bokhara in the time of winter, but as this town is frequently in a state of mutiny, he seldom goes there. It was known in the time of Alexander the Great by the name of Marakanda Regia Sogdianorum; and contains the sepulchre of Timur. It is still the seat of Oriental literature, and called "The Ornament of the Face of the Earth." It has a wall of clay, and forty thousand inhabitants; a beautiful palace, and many houses of marble; many mosques and colleges. It was formerly inhabited by Chinese, who manufactured paper of silk, and it once had the name of Bokhara-Tsheen, but received the present name from the Conqueror Samar, after Christ 643. Oologh Beyk erected there an observatory. There are two thousand Jews there. Near it is a little town called Sheeras, and it is probable that the poet Hafiz alluded to Sheeras, near Samarcand, in his lines:

اگراین ترکي شیراری بدست دارد دل مارا
بخالي هندیش بخشم سمرقند و بخارارا

If that Turkish girl of Sheeras would give me her heart,
I would give for one mole of her cheek, Samarcand and Bokhara.

For there are no Turkish girls at Sheeras, in Persia.

A report was spread abroad, I found, throughout the whole country of Bokhara, that Mullah Joseph Wolff, the grand derveesh from England, was acquainted with seventy-two languages, with seventy-two religions, and had conversed with seventy-two nations of the earth. That further I had been in Sulmistaun, *i.e.* the land of Darkness, Tartarus, and that I had called on the Ameer to compel all the inhabitants of Bokhara to embrace the religion of Jesus.

The Ameer sent one day to me the Makhram, with the following question, of which I was obliged to write down the answer: "How do the Christian mullahs prove the truth of their religion?"

I replied: I. That its Divine Founder, Jesus, and his religion, were predicted, centuries before his coming on earth, by the prophets of old.

II. By the miracles which Jesus performed, and which miracles were admitted to have been performed by Him by his own enemies.

III. By the life and conversation of Jesus.

IV. By the prophecies which He uttered and

which were fulfilled; as, for instance, the destruction of Jerusalem was predicted by Him.

V. By the effect which Christianity produced. Christianity teaches a man to set a proper value on human blood. The Christians feel more horror, consequently, than many other nations at the shedding of human blood.

VI. Christianity fills the heart with compassion and love, even towards others who are not our own people. The Christians are the only people who have established houses for the sick, where they receive attendance and medicine without money, and also houses for aged people and for widows and orphans.

On another day, when surrounded by many Kalmucks, Merve, Usbecks, Jews, Kafer Seeah Poosh, Hindūs from Chicarpore, together with Dil Assa Khan, His Majesty sent to me his Makhram, with the following command,—that I should give him the History of their Prophet Muhammed, as related by the learned men among the English and other European nations. This was rather a delicate point, and I therefore asked His Majesty first, whether this would lead to any attempt at forcing me to become a Muhammedan. He sent me word, "Not in the least." I wrote down as follows:

May God preserve Nasir Ullah Behadur, Ameer of the Mussulmans, and Shaheen-Shah of Bokhara, the most learned of the Ulema of the Bokhara Shereef.

Your Majesty's wisdom, anxious to know the customs

and manners and religious sentiments of other nations, imitating in this respect your great ancestor Timur Kurikanee, has graciously ordered me to write down the History of Muhammed as related by Christian historians; a task most difficult for me to perform, since, 1st, I am not so well versed in the Persian language as to write it in an elegant style, as such a subject deserves; 2nd, I wish to perform the task in such a manner that it may be consistent with truth, and at the same time not to wound the feelings of any one. But as, according to the religion of Jesus, we must obey the commands of Kings as far as their commands do not insult the commands of Jesus; and Your Majesty having promised that my undertaking will not lead to a renunciation of my religion, I submit to Your Majesty's command by thus writing down the History of Muhammed the son of Abd Ullah, the Prophet of the Mussulmans.

The Empire of Rome was in the decline; the followers of Jesus forgetting the precepts of the Anjeel (Gospel)—given up to vice; Persia was enervated; the Government of the Yoonaanean, residing in the place called at that time Byzantium, and now Stambool, was given to bad morals; and Arabistaun was divided by internal dissensions in the affairs of this world as well as in religion. No wonder that God sent his chastisement upon all these nations. A man, therefore, was wanted to achieve the overthrow of Asia and part of Africa. Such a man appeared in the person of Muhammed, of the family of Hasham, of the tribe of Koreish.

The office of Superintendent (Shereef) of the Kaaba at Mecca, had been at first hereditary in the family of Ishmael; afterwards, for some centuries, it was vested in the tribe of Khoza; and in the year 464 after Jesus, the tribe of Koreish deprived the Khozaites of this office by cunning, and afterwards by open force. The office of Shereef of the Kaaba was connected with certain advantages: he that occupied so high a situation enjoyed not only great influence over the city of Mecca, but also, as the holy house was an object of

veneration amongst all the tribes, over the whole of Arabia. This high dignity, combined with the government of Mecca, descended through four generations to Abd Almutaleb, son of Hasham, grandfather to Muhammed, the prince and chief of his tribe. Abd Almutaleb had rendered the most essential services to his country. To prevent general famine, the father of Abd Almutaleb had in aforetime made provision by permanent regulations for regular importations of corn, by means of two numerous caravans, which departed and returned regularly; and Abd Almutaleb himself had liberated his country by his valor and prudence from the yoke of the Abyssinians. His liberality was not only extended to men, but the birds of the air and the beasts of the field felt the effect of his benevolence. On a certain day of every month he fed all the poor of the city upon the roof of his house; and also directed his servants to carry appropriate food to the beasts on the hills. Abd Almutaleb was crowned also by the plenitude of domestic blessings: he had thirteen hopeful sons and six beautiful daughters. Abd Ullah was one of his younger sons, and his favourite child. He was the jewel of Arabian youths. But not less beautiful and modest was Amina, Waheb's daughter, a Jewess of the noble family of the Zarhites.

Abd Almutaleb married his favourite son to this beautiful girl. But in the fourth year of her marriage, when she was about to have a child, her husband, on a journey which he had undertaken for commercial purposes, died at Yatreb, now called Medinah. Abd Ullah had had no time to acquire riches; the whole property he left to his disconsolate widow consisted of five camels and one Abyssinian slave-girl, Barek by name. Two months after the death of her husband, on the 12th day of Raba (April 10, 569 A.D.), in the afternoon, Amina gave birth to a boy, who received from his grandfather the name of Muhammed.

To celebrate the happy delivery of his daughter, Abd Almutaleb prepared a splendid feast, to which he invited the

most distinguished of his family; and in their presence he gave to his grandson the name of Muhammed; and the Arabian historians add, that the family of Koreish, astonished at this, said to Abd Almutaleb, "Why dost thou call the boy thus, as no other of thy tribe bears that name?" Abd Almutaleb replied, "God shall glorify him in heaven whom He has created on earth." We Christians, however, say that the miraculous events which are said to have taken place at his birth, according to Abulfeda, Elmakin, and Masoodee, are evidently imitations of the Gospel narrative of the birth of Christ; for instance, that rays of light appeared in heaven, which illuminated all the towns, villages, and markets throughout Arabia and Syria; and even many Muhammedan writers doubt these facts, even among the Sunnee.

Muhammed was consigned to the care of a nurse, Halima by name; and when he was old enough he kept the flock of his foster brothers and sisters. The boy grew up thriving, lively in spirits, and strong in body, but was attacked by epileptic fits, which rapidly increased to such a degree, that Halima, in fear, returned the boy to the care of his mother. But his mother died in his sixth year, on a journey to see her uncle, and was buried at Al-Aba, between Medinah and Mecca. Abd Almutaleb undertook the guardianship of Muhammed; but in the boy's eighth year he also died, at the age of a hundred and ten years; and in his dying hour recommended the orphan to the care of Abu Taleb, who became his successor in the office of Shereef.

Abu Taleb was a wise man, highly respected at Mecca and in the whole surrounding country; he was merchant, warrior, and hunter. He undertook the education of Muhammed, exercised him in military hardihood, and tried to inspire him with courage, by taking him with him in his expeditions for hunting the lion. Besides, he made the boy acquainted with mercantile business, for which purpose he took him on a journey to Syria. Among his travelling companions were Abu-Bekr and Belal, who be-

came afterwards his most zealous partisans in the promulgation of his new religion. On that journey they came near Bosra, in Syria, near to Damascus, where Abu Taleb was acquainted with the monks of the Mandaye, who resided there. The monk Boohyra, of that convent, observed, "Muhammed will become a great man," and Muhammed believed himself the more to be a chosen vessel in the hand of Providence. He had frequently heard wise men, in the house of his uncle, express the necessity of combining together the conflicting religions of the Arabs into one pure religion, and reducing all the tribes of the nation under the obedience of one common creed. Besides, the historical traditions of the Arabs had much analogy to those of the Hebrews, and coincided with them in a great number of points; for, as they were of the Shemitic race, they deduced their origin from Abraham and the other holy patriarchs of the primitive world. Hence the traditions of a purer faith, and the simple patriarchal worship of the Deity, appear never to have been totally extinguished among the Arabs. In this manner a spark was thrown into the glowing imagination of Muhammed, which produced that mighty Arabian conflagration whose flames were scattered to Tūrkistaun, Hindūstaun, and Affghanistaun by the sons of the Desert.

After their return to Mecca they resumed their usual occupations, Muhammed, as before, spending his time in commercial pursuits and military exploits; and on account of his tall figure and graceful deportment, he was considered the finest and handsomest man in Arabia. When he was twenty years of age, a feud broke out between the tribe of Koreish and the two tribes of Kenan (the Rechabites) and Hawazan. Under the order of Abu Taleb, Muhammed had the command of a small body of horse; and he distinguished himself so much by his courage and intrepidity, as well as by his judicious arrangements, that, by the unanimous voice of his allies, as well as his opponents, the victory was ascribed

to the valour of Muhammed. Abu Taleb, and the house of Hasham were much gratified with the military glory of Muhammed.

Other circumstances also combined to raise the reputation of Muhammed. Long before the time of Muhammed, the Kaaba of Mecca had been constituted the great sanctuary of Arabian worship. It contained the Black Stone, the object of the religious devotion of the Arabs from a very ancient period. We meet with a similar form of worship among the Seikhs at Lahore, with regard to the stone called Salkram. When the tribe of Koreish began to rebuild this temple they were at a loss to know how the Black Stone should be fixed in the wall, and what hands should touch it, when, unexpectedly, the lot fell to young Muhammed. He received from this moment the name of Alameen, the trustworthy. Khadijah, a rich widow, took him into her service. On behalf of his mistress he returned to Syria, and renewed his acquaintance with Boohyra at Bosra. Boohyra made him acquainted with the contents of ancient books; and Solomon the Jew spoke to him of the expectations of the Jewish nation; and the hope, which the Jews still entertained, of the future coming of a Deliverer and Prophet, operated powerfully on the mind and imagination of Muhammed.

In the service of Khadijah, Muhammed undertook other journeys to distant Arabia and the Persian Gulf; crossed the Euphrates, and stood on the ruins of Babylon, and visited Mesopotamia and Persia. He no longer travelled as a mere commercial agent, but tried to enrich his mind and intellect by various sciences; wherever he came he tried to make himself acquainted with the state of the country, with the laws and character of the natives, and especially the different religions; and the never-ceasing divisions, wherever he came, were the chief object of his attention. Burning with a desire of knowledge, he associated with every one of whom he believed he could learn something. Sometimes he

frequented the company of the disciples of John the Baptist, of Zoroaster, Manichæans, and other sects.

One day, as Khadijah was walking with her companions on the terrace of her house, she saw Muhammed returning from his journey. Khadijah sent one of her slave girls after him, requesting him to become her husband; and she bestowed her hand on him when his whole property consisted of five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant. A splendid feast was given at the wedding, to which all the inhabitants of Mecca were invited. Twenty-four years Muhammed and Khadijah lived together, contented and happy, blessed with four sons and four daughters. None of the sons survived—the daughters grew up; their names were Fatima, Zaima, Rukaya, and Usu Khaltoon. He lived fifteen years, pursuing his public functions with great conscientiousness, treating all inferiors with great mildness, and was a most tender husband; his moral character without reproach—his outward conduct without blame.

He continued for some time his commercial journeyings, when suddenly he lost at once all desire to travel, loved retirement more and more, and at last retreated, during part of every year, to a cave three hours distant from Mecca, giving himself up to meditation; when suddenly he declared himself—first of all to Khadijah and his children—as the long-desired Rasool Ullah, Ambassador of God. It was in the night time of the 23rd and 24th of Ramadan, in the night of the divine decree, that Muhammed declared he had heard a voice upon the mountain of Abuk Beis. When he descended the mountain,—as the Arabian historians some centuries after his death relate,—a heavenly light suddenly illuminated the country around, and the *Koran* descended from heaven. The bearer was, according to your Prophet's account, the angel Gabriel, who also had taught him to read; and he said he had been hailed by the angel Gabriel as the highest Prophet of God—*which we Christians do not believe.*

The angel took the *Koran* back with him to heaven, but gave Muhammed the assurance that he would, from time to time, as the occasion arose, give him portions of it, divided into Suras. Khadijah declared herself his convert; Waraka, a Jew, and translator of the Bible, also became his convert; after him Ali; and Abd Ullah, who received the name of Abu Bekr, the father of the virgin, as Muhammed married his daughter.

Abu Bekr, thirty-four years of age, a man of great weight, engaged other men of authority to embrace the doctrines of your Prophet. However, Muhammed confined himself first of all to his nearest relations and acquaintance, to whom he preached, sometimes in eloquent prose, at others in verses, the dogmas of his religion, and in three years he had made about forty converts. At last he declared that Gabriel had ordered him to preach openly and from the house-top to the whole nation.

He invited the tribe of Hasham to a frugal dinner; after the repast was over he offered to them uninterrupted happiness in this life, as well as in eternity, by embracing his doctrine. The guests looked at him with much astonishment, believing him to be mad. Muhammed threatened them with eternal hell fire, which inflamed Abu Lahab, one of his uncles, with such fury, that he cast a stone at him, when Ali interfered, and declared that he would knock out the teeth, force out the eyes, tear the entrails, and break the bones of every one of those who dared to resist the Prophet. Muhammed was so rejoiced at the emphatic confession of Ali, that he embraced him as a brother; but when he went so far as to nominate Ali, who at that time was fourteen, as his Khaleefa, whom every one was to obey, all the guests burst out into a fit of laughter. The bad success of this first attempt was far from discouraging Muhammed; under the protection of Abu Taleb, who, though not a convert himself, still favoured his nephew's enterprise, Muhammed

appeared before the people with the pretension of a Prophet, and announced his doctrine by the name of *Islam*. The more resistance he encountered, the more he pressed forward.

The Koreish attempted to crush him, but in vain. Muhammed, however, too weak to resist openly, advised his followers to fly from Mecca. Eighty-three of them, with their wives and children, took shelter under the King of Abyssinia; but Muhammed remained at Mecca under the protection of his uncle. The principal men of the Koreish went to Abu Taleb, and said: "Thy nephew reviles our religion and sage ancestors, and, accusing them of ignorance and infidelity, makes dissensions and rebellion." Muhammed replied, "Even if they were to place the sun to my right hand, and the moon to my left, they shall not bring me back from the road I have taken." However, when the Koreish made an attempt upon his life, he took an asylum in a fortified house upon the Hill Zaffa, near Mecca, defended by thirty-nine followers. He scarcely had remained there one month, when his party gained the important acquisition of two powerful men,—that of Hamsa, Muhammed's uncle, and Omar. Under their protection, Muhammed left Zaffa, and, with an armed escort, he approached the Kaaba, and boldly preached in the open market-places of Mecca. The Koreish challenged him to perform a miracle. His answers were, on one occasion, "That he was commissioned to be a preacher only, and not a worker of miracles." At another time, he replied, "That God, out of mercy, would not perform miracles; for it would only redound to the greater condemnation of the infidels, who after all would not believe."

The Koreish assembled in the valley of Mecca, in the plain of Muhazzab, in order to consult. The result of their consultation was, not to lay down their arms until they had exterminated the declared enemy of the state, with his whole family, either by the sword, dagger, or poison. This mighty conspiracy was reported to Abu Taleb; Muhammed

and the family of Hasham were sent for; they immediately fortified themselves in a country house of Abu Taleb, two miles distant from Mecca. When the Koreish saw that their conspiracy was discovered, they openly proscribed and excommunicated Muhammed and his whole family and followers. They marched against him; but they were not able to succeed; he was already too powerful. They attempted to starve him by cutting off the wells and provisions; but he had already too many friends. In his fortress he pronounced his curse against Abu Lahab. They fought for three years with mutual success and defeat; but, during the four holy months, when the Arabs were obliged to observe a strict armistice, and in which it was not allowed to employ either sword or lance, Muhammed went forth from his fortress, and proclaimed himself to the people, and to the pilgrims journeying towards Mecca, as the Ambassador of God. The persecutions he underwent by his opponents fired him with greater zeal: the natural effect of persecutions.

He spoke with amazing eloquence,—every sentence which he uttered fell upon the heads of his enemies like a clap of thunder,—great numbers were added to his party, among them the most distinguished citizens of Medinah. In this emergency of the state, when the downfall and the total overthrow of the constitution of Mecca was to be be apprehended, the Arabs chose Habeeb, one of their mighty princes, who had twenty thousand cavalry under his command, as arbiter between them and the Hashamites. Habeeb was one hundred years of age, a Jew in his youth, then a Sabêan, and after a Christian, but celebrated in Yemen for his love of justice and wisdom. He undertook willingly the office of arbiter, and encamped with three thousand horse in the plain of Muhazzeb. Muhammed appeared before the judgment seat of Habeeb, but here Muhammed knew how to state his case with such presence of mind, that he was

honourably acquitted by Habeeb, and even taken under his powerful protection. Habeeb observed to those around him, "Nothing will be able to stem this mighty torrent: he will succeed, and idolatry shall be crushed!" Tranquillity was restored thus at Mecca, but only for a short time.

Muhammed made use of the short period of armistice to get the sentence of excommunication recalled, which had been pronounced by the Koreish against the Hashamites, and which excommunication had been deposited in the Kaaba. He sent word to the family of Koreish, that God had revealed to him that a worm had been sent by him into the Kaaba, in order to gnaw through the document of excommunication, deposited in the Ark, *except that spot where the name of God was written.* The family of Koreish examined the document; and, on finding this to be the case, they annulled it altogether.

But, in the tenth year of his mission, his uncle Abu Taleb and his wife Khadijah died; and the greatest enemy of his family, Abu Suffian, of the tribe of Ummia, succeeded to Abu Taleb in the government of Mecca; many of his followers, from fear, left Muhammed; so that he undertook, in the company of his faithful disciple Sayëd, a journey to Tayëf, thirty miles eastward from Mecca, where he received but a cold reception, and was banished from the city as a madman.

Resistance and obstacles incited the more the audacity and courage of Muhammed. He returned again to Mecca, and, without taking the least notice of Abu Suffian's threats, he preached from the housetops to the swarm of pilgrims, and made hosts of proselytes, and gained over to his doctrine six of the most respectable citizens of Medinah, of the noble tribe of Khasredj and Aus, allied with the Jewish tribe of Karaites and Nadir, who had the greatest influence in Medina and throughout the Arabian republic. These six

citizens swore allegiance to Muhammed, and bound themselves by an oath never to forsake him, and to bear witness of his divine message to the family of Aus, and before all the rest of the tribes. The enthusiasm of these six citizens laid the first foundation of the worldly grandeur of Muhammed; and his supremacy gave to the history of the world a new direction.

Till this period, Gabriel only was the person who initiated him as a prophet; but in the twelfth year of his mission he obtained a higher call. On the night of the 20th of the month of Rajab, while Muhammed slept in the valley between Saffa and Merva, suddenly he was awaked by a voice saying, "Sleeper, awake." When he opened his eyes, he saw Gabriel standing before him in his true figure, enwrapped in rays of light, having round his forehead a royal tiara, upon which was written, in strokes of fire, the words:

There is God, and nothing but God, and Muhammed the Prophet of God.

The angel announced to him that the Highest had called his Prophet to converse with Him. A horse, saddled and bridled, Al Barak, *i. e.* the lightning horse, stood near the angel, which had the head of a horse, but with the face of a man, two wings like an eagle, his colour gray, mixed with white, but resplendent like the stars when illuminated with the light of the sun. The horse was unruly, and when Gabriel reminded him that he stood before Muhammed the Prophet, it availed nothing until Muhammed himself promised that a good stable in Paradise should be provided for his comfort; then he was calm and resigned. Gabriel took hold of the bridle, and with the swiftness of thought they arrived at Jerusalem, where, at the gate of the Temple, a multitude of patriarchs and prophets were standing, desiring his intercession and blessing, and wishing him a happy journey. Barak was tied to a rock, and Muhammed ascended

with Gabriel on a ladder up toward heaven. For a few moments they stood before the gates of the heavenly realm. The porter, on being informed that Gabriel and Muhammed stood without, immediately opened the gate; when an old man came to meet the Prophet, who bowed with deep humility, and recommended himself to the prayers of Muhammed. This old man was no other than Adam, the father of the human race.

The journey extended to the second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh heaven. The first was of silver, set with jewels; the second of gold; the third of transparent diamonds; another vaulted entirely with the odour of roses and other flowers; but the seventh consisted of nothing but splendour and divine light. He conversed with Abraham in the seventh heaven, and there he observed two angels continually occupied in writing the names of some men and erasing those of others.

In the seventh heaven the Angel Gabriel left him, and he alone continued his progress to the throne of God. When he approached his footstool, he read the inscription, "God and nothing but God." The Almighty laid his hands upon Muhammed's breast and shoulders. God revealed to his Prophet deep mysteries, and granted him many prerogatives—the knowledge of languages, and the privilege of retaining for his own private use the spoils taken in battle; also an order from God to make his followers to pray fifty times a day, which, however, at his instant intercession, was reduced to five times.

He returned, accompanied by Gabriel, to Jerusalem, where he mounted his horse Al Barak, and was in the twinkling of an eye again in the plain between Saffa and Merva, one mile from Mecca. The whole journey, which, according to Arab calculations, required eleven thousand years to perform, was accomplished by him in less than an hour. Gabriel then took leave of him, and Al Barak, the horse, reminded

Muhammed most humbly of his promise to provide a comfortable stable for him in Paradise.

But his friends begged him not to speak openly of his journey to heaven, as it would only expose him to ridicule However, Muhammed openly proclaimed it, and Abu Bekr confirmed it; but the family of Koreish declared that he must be either mad or an impostor; but he was more successful at Medinah, where the story was not only believed, but embellished by his followers. With the assistance of his disciple Mozab, the greater part of Medinah was converted to him. Seventy-two men and women were sent to Mecca from Medinah to Muhammed to pay him homage, and they promised him, after a secret conversation with him, to assist him in war, defensive and offensive. He nominated immediately twelve chiefs, whom he endowed with *temporal* and *ecclesiastical* power. Before they returned, the Ambassador asked Muhammed, "After thy native place shall have acknowledged thy virtues and thy merits, wilt thou forsake us?" He answered with a smile, "All is now common among us; your blood is my blood; your happiness is my happiness; your misfortune my misfortune. The bonds of religion have united us together for ever; yea, the bonds of honour and general interest. I am your friend, and for ever the enemy of your enemies." They replied, "If we should fall in thy service, what would be our reward?" He replied, "Paradise." They said, "Muhammed, give us thy hand." He gave his hand as a pledge, and the union was made for ever; and from that time Islam was the ruling and universal religion of the inhabitants of Medinah.

This union produced general consternation among the tribe of Koreish. They determined to murder Muhammed, whose followers were scattered abroad; but he was saved by his nephew Ali, and Muhammed took shelter with Abu Bekr. They both escaped. Abu Bekr was oppressed with gloomy thoughts. "Why art thou cast down?" Muhammed

asked him; "dost thou not know that we are not alone?" "Who is with us?" asked Abu Bekr. "Ullah" (God), Muhammed answered.

They hid themselves in a cave in the mountains of Tur. The tribe of Koreish came near the cave, but did not observe them. After three days they left the cave. Abu Bekr procured two camels and a guide, by name Abd Ullah, an idolater, and they commenced their journey to Medinah. But suddenly they were overtaken by Sorak, one of the Koreish cavalry, who ran upon them with his lance; but his horse took fright, which gave Muhammed and Abu Bekr time to escape, and they arrived safely at Medinah.

This flight, called the Hejra, 622 A.C., was the beginning of a new era. After a fatiguing journey of twelve days along the sea shore, they at last arrived at Medinah on a Friday, when Muhammed made his solemn and pompous entrance, met by five hundred citizens, and all the fugitives who had preceded him. Muhammed sat on a she camel, and an umbrella of palm leaves sheltered him from the sun. Abu Bekr rode by his side, and Boreida before him, with a flag in his hand. Thousands saluted the Prophet in the street, and from the windows of the houses. He was received with shouts of jubilee and joy. Thousands desired him to be their guest, but Abu Tayeb had the honour of receiving the Prophet under his roof.

A few days after, he laid the foundation of a mosque and a house for himself and family. Both buildings were completed in less than eleven months, for Paradise was the reward promised to the builders. He next began to exercise the functions of High Priest and King. He instituted public prayers; he preached daily under a palm-tree; appointed the times of fasts and ablutions. Magi, idolaters, Persians, and Jews came daily to Medinah to pay homage to the Prophet, and he made any reform he pleased in the state. At last he held a public levee, nominated civil and military officers, and

commanded every Mussulman to take the sword, or pay a contribution for the expense of the war, at the first summons of the Apostle; and every war declared by Muhammed was styled the *holy war*. He had a great seal, with the words engraved on it, "Muhammed the Prophet of God."

The battle of Bedr was fought in the year 623. Abu Suffian marched against Muhammed with seventy-five thousand men; the Prophet had only fifteen thousand to oppose to him. Already he was defeated; shouts of triumph were heard from the camp of the enemy, when Muhammed himself came forward with a detachment of troops from an ambush, and exclaimed, with a voice of thunder, "Angel Gabriel! come down with eleven thousand angels!" Arrows were flying and darts hurled at the same moment; his already-defeated army, imagining themselves to be protected by invisible hosts of celestial warriors, took fresh courage, and Abu Suffian's army, struck with a panic, took flight, and Muhammed gained the victory.

Immediately after the battle of Bedr, that of Ohod was fought. Khaleed, the son of Waleed, marched against Muhammed. The idol of Lat and Uthal, the protector of Khaleed's army, was placed at a little distance, guarded by only a few men. Muhammed was again giving way, when he rode up to Ali, and commanded him to hasten with a detachment of cavalry to the idol, and break it to pieces. Ali, with the swiftness of lightning, obeyed his command. Khaleed's army, perceiving their idol destroyed, took to flight, and Muhammed again was victorious.

At length, in the year 629, the daughter of a Rechabite, —like another Jael, mentioned in the history of the Jews,— undertook to deliver Arabia from Muhammed; she administered poison to Muhammed, which produced inflammation in the brain. "None has ever suffered such pains as I do," he observed to Omar. "Go thou, and perform the prayer in the mosque, instead of me." Already Omar had ascended

the pulpit, when Muhammed raised himself upon his couch, and said to his attendants, "Pour cold water over me." They obeyed; he then rose from his bed, and said, "As long as I shall have breath in me, I shall perform public prayer myself." He went to the mosque, and called to Omar to stop. He performed the prayers with a loud voice—went home—laid down on his bed—uttered three dreadful shrieks: his last words were, "Rasool Ullah" (Ambassador of God) and expired.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sensation produced by the Life of Muhammed; Copies of it circulated through Balkh, Khoollom, Mazaur, and Cabûl; Remarks of the Sheikh Islam on it. Yar Muhammed Khan advises the King to behead Dr. Wolff. Ak Muhammed Beyk appointed Ambassador from Bokhara to England. Mischief occasioned by the Servants of Colonel Stoddart. Colonel Stoddart ends his Diplomatic Relations with Yar Muhammed Khan by kicking him down stairs. Questions by the Makhrams. King's Remark on Dr. Wolff's Personal Appearance. The People call Dr. Wolff *Khoob Ademee*, "The Good Man." The King gives him three Names. High reputation of Sir Moses Montefiore among the Jews of Bokhara. Further Questions put by the Makhrams by order of the Ameer to Dr. Wolff; Dr. Wolff's Reply to each. The Dastar Khanjee a Disgrace to Manhood. Peculiar Character of the Post at Bokhara. The Ameer reads all the Letters of his Subjects. Interview of Dr. Wolff with the Ameer. Dr. Wolff demands of the Ameer the Bones of Stoddart and Conolly. The King threatens to send Dr. Wolff's Bones to England. Dr. Wolff hears of the Villany of Abdul Samut Khan from various Persons. Refused permission to depart by reason of the Detention of the Bokhara Ambassador in Persia. Writes to Colonel Sheil. Russian Slaves refused Liberation. Conversation with the Officers of the Nayeb. Hassan Shirazi.

THE sensation excited by my paper on Muhammed, as soon as copied, and delivered to His Majesty the King, was immense. He sent for the Sheikh Islam, for the Kasi Kelaun, and all the rest of the mullahs. The Sheikh Islam observed, "This life must be kept among the library in the Great Mosque, and it is remarkable with what prudence Joseph Wolff has contrived to state his sentiments without giving offence, and at the same time delivers with

sincerity the sentiments of wise Christians with regard to our Prophet." Copies were ordered by His Majesty to be taken and sent to Balkh, Khoollom, and Mazaur; and Mullah Buddr-Deen, the great merchant from Affghanistaun, sent copies to Cabūl; and Khodsha Sahib, a merchant from Cashmeer, sent to his friends at Cashmeer; and the Governor of Samarcand sent copies to the mullahs of Samarcand and Orateppa. And the Sheikh Islam observed to His Majesty, "A great calamity will befal the city, if Joseph Wolff is killed at Bokhara, and not sent back to his country with distinction." His Majesty the King replied, "I have given myself a terrible wound by having killed Stoddart and Conolly."

May 5th. I received permission to depart, on the 9th of this month, from the King. At this period I laboured under the most pleasing delusion as to the real character of the Nayeb, and in the innocency of my heart wrote to England to that effect. I continued to labour under this delusion for some time. The 9th arrived, but with it no permission to depart. The King, however, and the Nayeb continued to treat me kindly. I soon, however, found that I was surrounded by a mass of treachery nearly unparalleled. The first glimpses broke in on me from a discovery that I made as to Yar Muhammed Khan, of Heraut. This villain promised to recommend me to the Ameer of Bokhara, and he

kept his word. He did so—for decapitation. The Ameer, however, did not attend to him, being prepossessed against him, fortunately for me, otherwise I might not now live to tell the tale.

Wednesday, the 14th, was again fixed for my departure with Ak Muhammed Beyk, a great Tūrkomaun chief, who was to accompany me with presents from the Ameer for our Queen, and a letter. Apparently great outward kindness was shown to me, for when I wanted to be bled, the King sent word that I ought not to do so previous to a journey. I called on the King in my Bokhara dress, and His Majesty laughed heartily at my appearance. He is wholly uneducated, but not without talent. I remained in the house of Abdul Samut Khan. People began at last to assume sufficient courage to call on me. They all expressed their astonishment that I should be better treated than the Russian Ambassador, and they began now to bow to me in the street. One day I fell from my horse in the street, but was not hurt, which they ascribed to my carrying the Bible always about with me. Though I did not feel the effects then, this fall afterward produced a rupture, which greatly inconvenienced me, since I had to ride twelve hundred miles on horseback without a bandage.

On inquiry, I found in all directions that Colonel dart's servants did him immense injury. All the

accusations against my poor friend Conolly were of the idlest description. Colonel Stoddart was certainly a most rash and inconsiderate man. The story of drawing his sword on the Makhram that was to present him to the King, was in everybody's mouth, as a gross violation of the etiquette of the Court.

I conversed one day with several people of Heraut. They spoke highly of English officers, and related the following story of Colonel Stoddart: "He was visited on one occasion by Yar Muhammed Khan, who was, as the Heraut people expressed themselves, the greatest Haram-Zadeh in existence. Colonel Stoddart spoke to him about the affairs of Kamran Shah, and after a few remarks by him on the villany of Yar Muhammed Khan, the discussion became so warm, that Colonel Stoddart rose and said, 'With you I shall soon have done,' and kicked him down stairs." This was diplomacy with a vengeance.

Every day of my residence here brought with it some question to be solved for the King's satisfaction. On even the second day of my arrival, the King sent one of his Makhrams to ask two questions. 1st. Whether I had the power to raise the dead? 2nd. Did I know when the day of resurrection would take place? My answers were written down.

One day the King remarked to the Nayeb, that I

was the most singular being he had ever seen. I was not like any other European. I was not like an Englishman, or a Jew, or a Russian, in my outward appearance and conduct.

I pass here by the name of the *Khoob Ademee, the good man,* among the people. In the very market-place, they say, "The Englishman is come, and he asked Hazrat (His Majesty), Why have you killed my countrymen? After him more of his people will come with force and power, and our Nayeb is occupied with the Englishman for some great design and purpose."

About this time, May the 14th, 1844, the King learnt the detention of his own Ambassador at Meshed on my account, and therefore determined to detain me. I continued, however, to ride about without strict surveillance on to the 22nd. The King wrote letters to the Sultan and Shah. Ambassadors are sharper looked after than myself, for they are not permitted to get clear of a very strict surveillance. His Majesty looked upon Dil Assa Khan as a contemptible dog, he told me, for not having fulfilled his duty to the Assaff-ood-Dowla. He gave me three epithets. 1st. *Joseph Wolff the Original.* 2nd. *Joseph Wolff the Star with the Tail.* 3rd. *Joseph Wolff the Timid One.*

The Jews of Bokhara have taken courage, and called on me. The name of Sir Moses Monte-

fiore, and the rumour of his exertions for the benefit of the Jewish nation, have reached their ears and those of their brethren in Samarcand, Balkh, Khokand, and Heraut. And Sir Moses Montefiore will be surprised to learn that his exertions in behalf of the Jews have drawn the attention of the Jews in those distant regions to the doctrines of Christianity; for many Jews, when at Bokhara, observed to me that the religion of the Gentiles in England must absolutely be better than that of Muhammed, as the proceedings of Sir Moses Montefiore, in behalf of the Jews, are not only tolerated, but also countenanced, supported, recommended, and eulogized. And about Rothschild they say that, in a country where one can so openly make a display of one's property, the religion of that nation must be better.

The reason why His Majesty called me Joseph Wolff *the Timid One*, I discovered to be from the cause that Ameer Aslan told him that I was ill from the apprehension of losing my head. He supposed this to be the case, from a sudden illness with which I was seized in the market-place. His Makhram continued to come down daily with questions such as these:

The mode of travelling in Persia, Turkey, and England? To this I replied, giving an ordinary explanation; but His Majesty could not understand

why we had no camels in England, and I had to write an immense time before he comprehended our railroad travelling.

Whether the Queen has a husband? I answered this in the affirmative, but told him that the government was in the hands of the Queen. He then exclaimed, "What kind of husband is he that is under the government of his wife?"

Why a woman is Queen, and not the husband? I pointed out that the succession ran in the eldest branch, male or female, and illustrated the position by James of Scotland.

The Ameer wished another day to have the names of the four grand Viziers, and twelve little Viziers of England, and the forty-two Elders. I gave to His Majesty a list of the names of the present Ministry, when the Makhram returned in a fury, and said that His Majesty had found me out to be a *liar*, for the four grand Viziers, according to Colonel Stoddart's account, were: Laard Maleburne, Laard Jaan Rawsall, Laard Malegraave, Seere Jaane Habehaase. I was brought in to the King, and then had to give a complete idea of the Constitution of England. Though His Majesty could not understand it fully, I yet convinced him that my list might be true also, especially as I was able to tell him the names of the Whig Administration.

At the same time His Majesty asked me whether

witches were to be found in England. To which I replied, that witchcraft was prohibited to the Christians, and according to the old law of England, was punished with death; that this arose from the fact that witchcraft required to complete its rites, shedding of blood, and other unlawful acts, and was consequently for *that*, independent of any other question of its effects, punished with death, under Jewish and Christian ordinances. That witchcraft does not now exist, and that scarcely any one in England believes in the existence of it at all. I was the more anxious to say this, lest from the circumstance of their entertaining the notion of my being a wizard, I might suffer those very serious consequences that my predecessors in the black art had from time to time experienced. It will further be seen, in the progress of this Narrative, that it was reported that Abdul Samut Khan and I practised witchcraft at our meetings, when in truth that mighty alchymist was only bent on transmuting me into as much solid gold as possible by the dint of his philosopher's stone, cruelty, incarceration, and threats of death.

On another occasion I was asked, How many Ambassadors Her Majesty had, and how they were treated? I gave a list of Ambassadors, and stated that they were not guarded and watched, as was the practice at Bokhara, but enjoyed full liberty and high distinctions and privileges.

The King then asked, Whether they would kill his Ambassador at London? I replied, if any Englishman did so, he would immediately be put to death, by the laws of the land; and to illustrate it I told him of the good reception of Dost Muhammed Khan in India.

Why do the English people like old coins? was then demanded. I explained that their value in the eyes of Englishmen arose from the circumstance that coins were looked upon as the very backbone on which the frame of history is supported. That without them we could not ascertain the duration of the world, dynasties of kings, and national events. That they were the great guides of the historian in determining his æras, and formed a metallic history of the earth, and that statues and ancient monuments were used as similar auxiliaries.

Who Ghengis Khan was? After the usual particulars of this well-known life, I added that the Jews believed that he was one of their nation.

Who Dareius was? I then detailed the history of this monarch, whom they call Takianus.

How the English govern India? After general details, I pointed out the toleration of the British Government in India, allowing all persons to follow their own religion, and making no difference in the exercise of law between Englishman, Muhammedan, and Hindoo; and that if an Englishi

insult a Muhammedan or Hindoo, relative to religion or any other matter, he would be severely punished.

The names of the richest Jews in England? Rothchild, Goldsmith, Sir M. Montefiore, and Cohen.

Whether the Queen has the power to kill any one she pleases? No; but she can pardon whom she pleases; and persons who have even attempted the life of the Queen have not suffered, but been pardoned. I explained that the Queen was compelled to submit her rights to the trial by jury, as well as the Lords or Commoners. On which one of the Makhrams observed, "What kind of a Sovereign is this, that cannot take away any life that she pleases?"

How many farsakhs an hour a steam ship goes? I said three and four farsakhs (about sixteen miles an hour.)

The Bokhara Ambassador, alluded to in one of the above questions, was a man of striking appearance. He was a Tatshick, and his brother one of the first merchants in the place.

The instances of villany which I daily detected of Dil Assa Khan were perfectly startling. I found out that he had laid a plot to sell me to the Hazārah. Next to the Dastar Khanjee I considered him at this time one of the most wicked men I had ever

seen. This man, who is placed over the King's kitchen, and at the same time has also the custom-house under him, and occupies in fact the position of King's Vizier, is only twenty years of age, and has been raised to this office for demerits unmentionable in any journal or narrative. He is one of the most voluptuous and effeminate villains imaginable. I have inserted his portrait, and I think it gives fully the base character of the man. When he is older it is generally hoped by the inhabitants, and confidently expected by them, that the King will decapitate him and seize on his enormous wealth. He treated Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly with peculiar severity. The less said of this disgrace to manhood the better.

In order to exemplify in the best manner the tyranny of the Ameer of Bokhara, I need only mention the following facts: That every letter sent from Bokhara, and every letter arriving for their merchants and dignitaries, and every private note which the wife writes to her husband, or the husband to the wife, must first be opened and perused by the King of Bokhara; so that actually it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to forward letters to Bokhara. This circumstance may plead an excuse for Colonel Sheil ordering Muhammed Ali Serraf not to forward the letters from Sir Moses Montefiore by an express Gholam. For even if the letters arrive the

Mirza Abdul Wahab delt

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people are afraid to receive them. The Khaleefa of Mowr alone is able to forward letters to Bokhara with safety, but of this circumstance Colonel Sheil was not aware, and Muhammed Ali Serraf had no inclination to make use of the Khaleefa.

Another act of tyranny committed by the Ameer is that boys are employed as newswriters, whose duty it is to report to him every word which other boys talk in the street; even brother to brother at home, and servants in families, are also obliged to write down for the King any conversation they hear between husband and wife, even in bed; and the people set over me were ordered to report to him what I might happen to speak in a dream. Such written reports are called Areeza, *i. e.* petitions to the King. But whilst His Majesty has established such a complete system of espionage, a similar one is established over him, though in secret, by several of the great officers of the State. Abdul Samut Khan boasted to me, and I heard the truth of his statement confirmed by others, that he (Abdul Samut Khan) knew every sentence and every half sentence the Ameer uttered, and all that is spoken to him. Abdul Samut Khan was exactly informed of every word that I uttered on a certain Friday that I went to the Salaam (levee) of the King, viz., that I had requested His Majesty to give me the bones of Stoddart and Conolly, and

that His Majesty's answer was, "I shall send your bones." The Ameer is evidently afraid of Abdul Samut Khan, for as often as Abdul Samut Khan exercises his artillery by ordering cannons to be fired, the Ameer sends one of his Makhrams to the Nayeb, who lives outside the town, to inquire for what purpose the cannons are fired, and I witnessed that in a single day three or four times Makhrams came to Abdul Samut Khan with the same question.

It may be asked, "Does the Ameer fear England?" I say exceedingly: so much so that when I arrived there, for three days he was sitting with his head leaning upon his hands, in deep thought; and he observed to the Grand Cazi, "How extraordinary! I have two hundred thousand Persian slaves here; nobody cares for them; and on account of two Englishmen, a person comes from England, and single-handed demands their release."

There are two Armenians from Astrachan at Bokhara, the name of the one is Barhur-Dar, and the other Hoannes, who were forbidden by the Ameer to approach me. They are suspected by the inhabitants to be Akbar-Nuwees (report writers), some say to the English Government, and others to the Russian. I however found a real friend to the British Government in a Khoja Sahib, a merchant from Cashmeer, who chiefly opened my eyes about the infamous Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, and who

told me, "That rascal has never told you how ill he treated Conolly, poor Conolly, and gave him nothing to eat, after he had stopped with him for a while, for Conolly was too shrewd to be cheated by him."

With respect to this person (Abdul Samut Khan), I omitted to mention that after the long conversation I had with him on the subject of Stoddart and Conolly, given above, that he made me a present of a Bokhara robe, and also one to Dil Assa Khan. On our return to my lodgings in the Toorah Khane from that interview, the good old Yoos-Bashi, when he saw me, wept for joy, as when one sees another returning from a dangerous journey. Also the Tūrkomauns, Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli, who were formerly distant in their demeanour, again took courage to salute me. After three days I called again on the Nayeb. He informed me that he had already paid thirty tillahs for five camels to Morteza preparatory to my departure, and twenty tillahs I should have to pay him at Meshed. I said, "Why so? I only want two camels, which amounts to six tillahs (about three pounds), but he replied that he should have to give me so many effects of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, which he had recovered at great personal cost from others, that I should not know what to do with them. He showed to me three mantles (khelats) from Conolly, when a curious thing happened. A soldier (Sirbās)

exclaimed, on passing, as he caught a sight of the Khelat, "I know that; we took it from the palace of Muhammed Ali, King of Khokand." The Nayeb exclaimed, "Pedret Sukhte," "May thy father be burned, but do you know they belonged to Conolly Saib?" and I observed him giving the man a look of peculiar expression. The soldier slowly walked off, but when he saw me again, he told me, "The Nayeb lies. We took it from the palace of the King of Khokand. You will never come out of this place again. The Nayeb, Pedre Sukhte Nayeb, will do with you as he did with Stoddart and Conolly. He killed them, and he will kill you." Whilst we were talking, I heard the shrieks and howlings of people. I asked, "What is that?" He said, "This is the prison kept by the Nayeb for those whom he suspects, and whom he suffers to starve from hunger. The Nayeb came, and our conversation was interrupted.

I asked the Nayeb, "Will the Rukhsat (permission to depart) be given to day?" He said, "Yes; and for this reason I beg you now to give me a receipt for five thousand tillahs. Three thousand which I will give you now; one thousand for the Russian slaves, whom I will deliver to you to-morrow; and one thousand tillahs, which you have to pay for Conolly's and Stoddart's effects, for the bribes which I have given to the people, and the hire of the Caravan Bashi." I exclaimed, "Great God! can you

show me the account?" He showed me an account. I said, "Give me this account." *Nayeb.* "Not now; but give me your receipt; you have to do with the Nayeb, who will not deceive you." I gave him the receipt for five thousand tillahs.

In the evening, instead of the permission to depart, Makhram Cassem came with the following message from the King: "His Majesty had already ordered the letters to be written to the Queen of England, and the presents which were intended for Her Majesty the Queen of England were already prepared, but His Majesty had just been informed that the Vizier Mukhtar (Ambassador) of England, at Teheraun, had offered one thousand tillahs as a daily compensation, as long as the Bokhara Ambassador was detained within the confines of Persia. His Majesty the Ameer therefore was determined to keep Joseph Wolff at Bokhara as long as his Ambassador was detained in Persia."

This news was like a thunder-bolt to me. On the receipt of this intelligence, I wrote the following letter to Colonel Sheil:

To Colonel Sheil, at Teheraun, thence to be sent to His Excellency Sir S. Canning, Constantinople, and thence to the Earl of Aberdeen, who will kindly communicate the contents of it to Captain Grover.

My dear Colonel Sheil, &c. Bokhara, May 15, 1844.

Ak Muhammed Beg, a powerful chief of Tūrkomauns, was already appointed as Ambassador to the Queen

of England from the King of Bokhara, of which I sent to all of you a copy, and I was to set out on the 12th instant for Meshed, after I had made my *dua* to His Majesty, when he received a message from Meshed, that the Assaff-ood-Dowla detained his Ambassador there on my account. He is therefore determined to keep me until his Ambassador comes back. I beg you therefore to send an order from Muhammed Shah to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, that he should immediately permit the Eljee of Bokhara to depart from Meshed for Bokhara. Pray do so, for he (the King) is a determined fellow, and would keep me ten years if the Ambassador is not sent. I write this letter in the house of our friend Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, who has taken great trouble about me.

I have recovered a journal. [The Nayeb did not give me this journal, as he promised. It contained, among other matters, a description of fortresses from Khokand to Bokhara. The official seal of Stoddart was also retained by him.] I also have got the official seal of Stoddart. The King does not attempt to justify his having murdered Todderwise and Naselli. [I found Todderwise alive at Teheraun, on my return from Bokhara. I asked him how the report originated that the Nayeb had killed him at Bokhara. He said that the Nayeb had invited him to see him, for he knew him in India; but as he, Todderwise, was informed of his character, he did not go, being fearful of being enslaved, but another person, a German went, who was put to death by the King, without seeing the Nayeb, and the Nayeb supposed that it was Todderwise.] Poor Conolly had done nothing but what every traveller does; he kept a journal, which made him suspected to be a spy.

You must pardon my confused style, for I am in a great stew, not knowing how long I shall be kept. I am now allowed to ride about in the town without a Makhram (private chamberlain) of the King, and which even the Russian

Ambassador was not allowed when here. There is now no probability of his putting me to death. He himself said to the Nayeb, "Do not tell Joseph Wolff that Yar Muhammed Khan has written to me that I should put him to death, for it will frighten him." Pray send a copy of this letter to India, and tell them that they should assist me from thence and from England with money, for I must give some presents to those Makhrams who behaved exceedingly kind to me; and Dil Assa Khan, the Eljee of the Assaff, almost stripped me on the road; and after I had left Merve, I discovered that Rajab had stolen several things, he was paid by Nur Khyr Ullah in behalf of Colonel Stoddart, so you need not pay him over again. What horrid rascals those natives are! from the Prince down to the lowest subject! The Nayeb has behaved nobly towards me. A report is spread about at Bokhara, that the Nayeb and myself sit together the whole day shut up in a room and practise witchcraft. Pray get the Ambassador soon sent off, and be kind enough to send a copy of this letter to Lady Georgiana also. Yours, &c.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

The Nayeb informed me that last Sunday the King told him these words: "We will spread about a report that we march against Khokand, but the real object of the expedition will be to take Shahr Sabz by surprise." It would be a great pity if he should succeed. I must abstain from writing to you anything now about the character of this court, for obvious reasons; and besides this, you must know that I am at present in a continual fever, and shall be so until I shall be at Meshed. I have taken six hundred tillahs from the Nayeb for expenses, [The Nayeb had made me his debtor to this amount, in presents to Makhrams, which I afterwards discovered he never gave to them.] for the recovery of Conolly's effects, and for official presents to the Makhrams, Shekhawl, &c. Pray honour my bills, and I shall arrange

with you matters. Abbott authorized me to draw, in case of need, one hundred tomauns on him. The inclosed is a copy of a letter of the King of Bokhara, which I am to take with me to England.

I took the Nayeb alone, and begged him to give me back the receipt mentioned above, but he swore by Abdullah Khan, his son, four years of age, to speak on the Sunday following to the Ameer, to procure me permission to depart.

With regard to the Russian prisoners, he sent first of all for an old woman, one hundred and eleven years of age, who spoke Turkish, and the Bokhara Persian, and remembered the Empress Catherine; and when I asked her whether she would return to Russia, she smiled, and said, at the same time striking the ground with her staff, "Here at Bokhara I shall be buried. What shall I do in Russia?" I gave her one tillah, for which, in sign of gratitude, she knocked her head six or seven times to the ground, and departed, always moving her head, and saying, "I return to Russia? I return to to Russia?" He next sent for some other Russians with the same success. Some of them said, "We cannot return, for we are deserters." Others, "We are married here, and have wives and children."

Behadur Hussein Ali, and other officers of the Nayeb, then took me alone, and said, "You will find at last that the Nayeb is a Haram Zadeh (son

of ——), who treated Stoddart and Conolly as he does you, and Boutenieff, the Russian Ambassador, whom he detained as long as he could, always pretending to be their friend." Behadur then took me alone, and pulling off his cap, and lifting his eyes to heaven, said, in a kind of despair, "Oh, Conolly Saib! Oh, Conolly Saib! thou wert deceived by that Haram-Zadeh the Nayeb. He has also deceived me, allured me with promises to Cabūl from Lahore, and from Cabūl to Bokhara; and now he has forced me to marry, and having made a slave of me, will at last kill me, and take the few tomauns I have from me; but, what is worse, he has already made me his accomplice in every evil work he has committed. I am the keeper of those prisoners, who will never see the light of day again, for he has killed many of them, and I shall be killed also. But I must tell you all, for I am an Indian Mussulman, and have eaten the salt of English people. I knew Mr. Vigne at Cabūl; he has drawn my portrait, and has given me many a rupee. I am not an Iranee (Persian), I am a Hindee, and have eaten the salt of Englishmen. The Nayeb will kill you at last, after he has got money from you. He gave money to Conolly, and after Conolly was dead he got it back again. Pray do not tell him what I tell you,—he will kill me—he will kill me. I am not an Iranee, I am a Hindee, and have eaten the

salt of Englishmen." This account of Behadur, delivered with every mark of deep sincerity of feeling, was amply confirmed by Mirza Muhammed Noori and the Yavar, *i. e.* Major of the Sirbaas, who at the same time added, "That cursed Nayeb receives every year thirty thousand tillahs from the King, in order to equip the soldiers, and for the cannon foundry, but he puts the money into his pocket, and suffers the poor soldiers to go barefoot and starve. He is an enemy to his own country, Persia; and though a Guzl-Bash himself, woe to that Guzl-Bash who is sold to him as a slave. He never gives them their liberty, except by paying to him three times as much as an Usbeck would demand. Here is Assad Ullah Beg, who has been demanded three times by the Haje of Persia; and it would only cost the Nayeb a few words to the King to give him liberty to return to Persia, but he has not spoken one single word to the King."

And I know myself that Assad Ullah Beg was only sent back to Persia by the Nayeb after having paid to him ninety tillahs, the whole earnings of the poor fellow for several years; and besides this a shawl worth one hundred tillahs, whilst an Usbeck would not have demanded more than twenty tillahs for the ransom of Assad Ullah Beg.

But to proceed with my Narrative. I was just on the point of returning to my lodging in town

when a curious and rather alarming incident occurred.

Hassan Shirazi, formerly servant to Colonel Stoddart, entered the garden, and seeing the Nayeb, he said, "My heart trembles as often as I come here." The Nayeb said, "Go to hell, you father of the Curse. Who tells you to come here?" He replied, "Many have left their heads and bones here, who have entered your house." The Nayeb replied, with a horrid expression, "Go to hell." The Nayeb then said, "To show you what sort of a fellow that is, when Colonel Stoddart was put to death, this fellow, his servant, being suspected of some designs against the Government, was sent to the Black Well. When there he was asked by one of the Makhrams, by order of the Ameer, 'What conversations did the Nayeb hold with Colonel Stoddart?' Then that fellow, Hassan Shirazi, to implicate me, replied, 'That Stoddart and I had agreed that if English or Affghaun troops should come to Balkh, to join them,' and he also stated that Stoddart and I (the Nayeb) had read together two letters which came from Cabūl, and then burned them."

Now it is very remarkable that if Hassan Shirazi was such a bad fellow as the Nayeb tried to make out, and a traitor to Stoddart as well as to himself, that he (the Nayeb) previous to this had recom-

mended Hassan Shirazi as a servant, to accompany me back to Persia. But the fact was this, that the Nayeb maintained a secret intercourse with Hassan Shirazi and the other servants of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, to betray them first, and seize on their effects afterwards; and as there is no friendship among thieves, they naturally suspected each other. When I now think over, what sort of company I have *par force* kept in these regions, I am fully convinced, as all at Bokhara were, that the Nayeb intended to include me in the number of his victims. I cannot but look back with horror and dismay on that period. The countenance of that villain, Abdul Samut Khan, fell daily more and more, exhibiting daily fresh features of villany, the mark of Cain grew darker and darker in his vile physiognomy, and so far from imagining evil where no evil was, which has been imputed to me, the quantity of evil he not only meditated, but actually committed, exceeded the bounds of ordinary imagination. My readers will perceive that I trusted the villain only too long.

I must proceed. I mounted my horse, and proceeded to the Toorah Khane, but returned the next day to the Nayeb, to urge him for leave to depart. Then the Nayeb informed me that he had put in irons Hassan Shirazi, and incarcerated him on my account, for he had just found

out that he was married, and had given to his wife the four tillahs, which he the Nayeb had given him on my account as wages beforehand, and had told his wife that she should go to a certain village, and that when he had stolen my money he would join her; but the real reason for incarcerating him was, that the Nayeb began to be afraid of him.

CHAPTER XIV.

Disasters of the Sikh Army in Lassa. Csoma de Koros; his Researches; publishes a Dictionary of the Thibet Language. The Surveillance over Dr. Wolff grows more rigid. Berhurdar, an Armenian, ordered not to visit Dr. Wolff by the Ameer. Nasir Khayr Ullah, a Kuffer Seeah Poosh, mistaken for Colonel Stoddart from the fairness of his complexion. Conversation between Dr. Wolff and the Nayeb. Letter of Sir Richmond Shakspeare. The Nayeb detains in his possession the Letter of Lord Ellenborough to the Ameer. Nayeb alarmed; advises Dr. Wolff to communicate to the Ameer the fact of the Letter having arrived; Dr. Wolff does so. Hassan Cabooloo dispatched. Dr. Wolff discovers that, though apparently sent, he did not really go. Affghaun Bear Leader imprisoned as a Spy; he tells Dr. Wolff that the Ameer sent a Lion to Russia as a Present to the Czar, for which his Ambassador was munificently rewarded; but that the Czar refused after the Execution of the British Officers to hold any further Intercourse with the Ameer. The Ameer goes to war with Khokand and Oratepa; orders in his absence the Guards over Dr. Wolff to be doubled, and tells him that his Departure will depend on the success of his Expedition. Dr. Wolff writes to Lady Georgiana and his Son. Conversations with Dil Aasa Khan, Abdullah, and others. Dr. Wolff bribes the Guards. Previous War with Khokand; King made Prisoner and put to death by the Ameer of Bokhara; his Wife and Child barbarously murdered. Abdul Samut Khan the chief Agent in the Slaughter. At the news of the Death of Stoddart and Conolly the Inhabitants of Khokand renew the War. The Ameer retreats before them and the Khivans. Dr. Wolff contrives to acquaint the British Envoy at Peshawur of the movements of the Ameer and warns the Envoy of Shah Sujah of the King's intention to attack them. Ameer says that nothing prospers with him since the Death of the English Officers. The King of Khokand asks Dr. Wolff to Asylum in his Dominions.

Previous to my visit to the Nayeb mentioned in the preceding chapter, Mohammedans from Cashmeer called on me, and gave me some information respect-

ing the great disasters which the Seiks had experienced on their march to Lassa, the capture of Thibet, and residence of the Grand Lama. Several thousands of the Seik army had been frozen to death, and many soldiers had been found frozen in the very attitude of defence, so that actually the Chinese, when approaching them, doubted whether they were alive or dead, and dared not disturb them. They also told me that the people of Thibet have a prophecy, that the whole country will fall under the English sway. Some of these Cashmeerians were acquainted with the Hungarian traveller, Csoma de Koros, who spent much time in one of the convents of the Lamas near Ladack, where he made researches into the origin of the Hungarian language and of the Huns. This extraordinary man set out in 1826, if I do not mistake, for this purpose, from Paris, and went *vid* Constantinople to Persia, in the disguise of a derveesh. On his arrival at Teheraun, he received the kind hospitality of Sir Henry Willock. Thence he went to Bokhara, Lahore, Ladack, and Calcutta. He wrote the only Dictionary of the Thibet language, I believe, extant, and then died. The Cashmeerians spoke to me also of Mr. Vigne and Baron Hügel.

The surveillance over me kept getting more and

more severe. An Armenian merchant, Barhurdar by name, from Astrachan, sent me word by Kouli, a servant of Dil Assa Khan, one of the servants that was kind to me, that I should excuse his absence, for the Ameer had sent him a strict order not to approach me.

The day following my last visit to the Nayeb, Nasir Khayr Ullah entered the garden. Nasir Khayr Ullah was by birth a Kaffer Seeah-Poosh, who are called by many Muhammedans, from the fairness of their complexion, Frankee, and this is the reason he was mistaken by some for Stoddart himself, whose friend he pretended to be, or perhaps was. He intended, he said, to go to Teheraun, to get some property there. This accounts for the information that Layard obtained at Constantinople, of Stoddart being alive, and passing by the name of Nasir Khan, for Nasir Khayr Ullah has the name of Nasir Khan. He was formerly a slave, but acquired considerable property at Bokhara. He showed to me forged letters from certain people who pretended to have carried the bodies of Stoddart and Conolly to India, for which service he (Nasir Khan) says, that he gave to them one hundred and fifty tillahs.

The following conversations took place on that day between me and the Nayeb.

W. Nayeb, to-day a Jew called on me, and showed to me a note evidently written by Shakes-

peare when at Jelaal-Abad; the contents of the note, as far as I can recollect, are as follows:

Hussein Cabulee is the bearer of a letter written by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India to His Highness the Ameer of Bokhara, for which the bearer has received one hundred rupees, and after having brought an answer from His Highness, he will, on delivery to any British authority, receive five hundred rupees more.

(Signed) SHAKESPEARE, *Military Secretary.*

Camp Jelaal-Abad.

I knew that such a letter had arrived at Bokhara, and even your brother, Hajee Ibraheem, told me himself so.

Nayeb (pale and evidently discomposed). I am astonished that I have not heard of this letter before. Nasir Khan has just told me that a Cabūl man was in possession of such a letter, but he says that he had left the letter at Balkh.

As Nasir Khan was already gone, he said that he must send to him to hear more about it; for when he (Abdul Samut Khan) had told the King that Joseph Wolff asserted that the Governor-General had written to His Majesty, His Majesty replied, "Where is that letter?" In the evening, to my utter surprise, the Nayeb produced the same note of Shakespeare which I saw in the hand of the Jew.

I heard then by Mirza Muhammed Noori, by the chief servant of the Kasi Kelaun, by Mullah Makhsoom, a Tatshick, and by Moolam Beyk, that

the Nayeb had been all the time in possession of the letter of Lord Ellenborough, and the other of Captain Shakespeare, and that it was by a contrivance of the Nayeb with Hassan Caboole that the note of Shakespeare was shown to me by the Jew Moollah Mesheakh. The letter of Sir Richmond Shakespeare, together with the letter of Lord Ellenborough, is, as will be seen, in the hands of Colonel Sheil; and as, according to the testimony of the above respectable people, the letter with Captain Shakespeare's note arrived before the execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, it is evident that the official date of 1259 Hejira, corresponding with July, 1843,—which was given to me by order of the King and Abdul Samut Khan at the beginning,—is the correct date, and not as I supposed erroneous when I arrived at Teheraun from Bokhara. Abdul Samut Khan must have known that to be a mistake; for, though the date of Shakespeare's note is no longer in my memory, I well remember that, when calculating over the date of the note of Shakespeare, and its arrival at Bokhara, it could only have been one year before my arrival there. It could only have been in 1259, as the Ameer and Nayeb first told me.

On the Sunday following these events, the Nayeb went to the King, and after two hours he came back to the garden, and said, "Now you have leave to

depart with all speed. The King asked me what kind of person the Ambassador ought to be; I told him that he ought to be an Usbeck,—a stout fellow, with thick head and little beard."

W. When will all be ready?

N. After four or five days.

W. This is too long.

N. Oh, you must have patience, for it is an act of the King. Everything is ready.

Whilst we were sitting together in the evening, Mirza Muhammed Nooree, his secretary, and others of his officers with him, he said, "Now you could show to the King that the English people speak the truth; write to him that such a letter actually exists here, sent from the Governor-General, and that His Majesty should cause search to be made for it."

W. I shall do no such thing, for this would only be the cause of another delay; and I do not care what opinion he entertains of me if he only lets me go.

The officers sitting by, and Mirza Muhammed Nooree, agreed with me, *that this would cause a delay;* but the Nayeb said, "*By the head of Abdullah Khan,* my son, it will not. Write! I tell you, write!"

I wrote to the King. His Majesty sent immediately to find the man, who came instantly to the garden, escorted by the Makhram, and also Nasir Khan with him.

Hassan Caboolee (in apparent fright). "Nayeb, Nasir Khan frightened me, and therefore I did not deliver the letter; now they will kill me. Hasrat (His Majesty) will now kill me." The Nayeb said to him, "Be not afraid—say where is the letter." And gave him a significant hint. He said, "At Balkh." He was despatched immediately to Balkh *at my cost.* Six days after, I saw him at Bokhara, which I told the Nayeb; he replied, that somebody else went there on his account.

At this period, I was brought by the three guards to the garden of the Dastar Khanjee, where I met with an Affghaun, who came here with a menagerie of wild animals two years ago, and as the King suspected him to be a spy of the King of Lahore, he detained him prisoner at Bokhara. He however displayed a Muhammedan indifference about his fate. He spoke to me with high regard of the English nation. He had taught his bear to dance, of which he gave a proof to me.

Of this person also I learnt that the Ameer sent, previous to the decapitation of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, a lion as a present to the Emperor of Russia, for which his Ambassador was munificently rewarded by the Emperor; but after the execution of both officers, the Ameer sent again an Ambassador to Russia, with presents, but on his arrival at Orenbourg, he was informed by the

Governor of Orenbourg that the Autocrat would have no more intercourse with the King of Bokhara, nor was His Majesty the Emperor inclined to accept any letters from the Ameer. The poor man who was sent as Ambassador returned to Bokhara, and has been since in disgrace.

In the month of June, when the Ameer went with his army to Samarcand and Khokand, for the purpose of reconquering Oratepa, which had rebelled against him, and also Khokand, my prospects of ever being set at liberty were but weak; for, previous to his departure, he gave strict orders to watch me, and at the same time doubled the guards, and gave me to understand that my receiving permission to depart depended on the success of his expedition. I therefore wrote the following letter in my Bible to Lady Georgiana and my son Henry, which I forwarded to Colonel Sheil; but Colonel Sheil not opening the Bible, did not know what to do with it, and kept the Bible with him until my return to Teheraun. Here is the letter:

To the Right Honourable Lady Georgiana M. Wolff, and Henry Drummond Charles Wolff.

My dearest Wife and Son, Bokhara, June, 1844.

I am still detained at Bokhara, and the King has now marched against Khokand. Whatever may happen to me, dearest wife and son, remember that you yourselves have nothing to reproach yourselves, for it was my own choice to make the journey, in order to liberate the prisoners, and

remember that our Lord Jesus Christ is now with me. I am not unkindly treated, and am not without hopes of being allowed at last to return with the Persian Ambassador; though one cannot depend upon the promise of an unprincipled tyrant, and Yar Muhammed Khan of Heraut has advised the Ameer by three Ambassadors to put me to death. God has given me strength to await his will with patience and resignation. Pray amuse yourself, and go to Wiesbaden in summer. I am well treated, but am not allowed to stir out without three guards, and am strictly watched. Tell my dear Henry that he should pardon me if ever I have hurt his feelings, and so I beg you to pardon me. I have never ceased to love you tenderly, both of you, and thank God that we are believers in Christ Jesus.

Your affectionate husband and father,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

Dil Assa Khan entered my room with eight Mervee, and he began thus, saying, "What an Englishman are you! how stingy! Todd Saheb, at Heraut, gave to the Hazarah, near Heraut, two thousand five hundred tillahs (ducats) for one horse. Pottinger Saheb gave every year thirty thousand tillahs to Yar Muhammed Khan, and do you think that I shall be satisfied with two hundred tillahs? Two hundred tillahs are good for nothing. It is for that reason that I have played the traitor, which I never would have done, if you had given me three thousand tillahs."

Then his people began: "And what have you done for us? You ought to have given two hundred tillahs to every one of us, and then you would have

exalted the Queen of England, and made her name immortal. Instead of this you gave us only a few tengas (pence) to pay for our bath. Do you think that the Ameer will let you go from here without our interceding for you? Far from it. Abdul Samut Khan himself tells us that you ought to make us comfortable."

Abdullah, my servant, entered then my room and said, "The whole town of Bokhara speak with certainty that the Ameer will put you to death, for it is the wish of Abdul Samut Khan, and all the Serkerdeha (grandees); and the King of Persia, being a Sheah, has no influence at Bokhara; but if you satisfy our demands, we will save your life." I turned them all out of the room.

Then a tailor of Abdul Samut Khan entered, saying, "Abdul Samut Khan has given to-day one hundred tillahs to the Shekhawl; he does everything for you, but you must spend your money; if not, he will fail in his trouble." I turned him out of my room.

Then Ameer Sarog, and Kaher Kouli, who had behaved exceedingly well for a while, so that I gave them a testimonial for their good conduct, said, "Mullah Youssuf Wolff, tillahs (ducats) are sweet; we dream of tillahs day and night, and we dreamt last night that you, on your return to England, sate near your Monarch, and all the grandees of your

country kissed the hem of your garment. The most beautiful women crowded around you, and desired to be your wives, and you took the daughter of the Queen as your lawful wife. * * * * You will live in the finest palace, except the Queen's, and fanned by dancing girls; and if you shall say to her, 'Oh, my Queen, cut off the head of this or that person,' she will immediately follow your advice. Both of us, Kaher Kouli and I, Ameer Sarog, dreamt this at one and the same time, and therefore it will become true."

Then the Guards entered, and told me that they would admit any one in case that I gave them money. This I was forced to do.

The war with Khokand commenced about this period, and the Ameer, leaving Abdul Samut Khan to follow him, proceeded thither. This was the second war with the people of that unfortunate country in which the present Ameer had engaged. I shall here give the details of the first.

Muhammed Ali Khan reigned at that time at Khokand, a very mild monarch, and fond of Europeans. He treated Conolly with great distinction, and always advised him not to go to Bokhara. But Muhammed Ali Khan was addicted to the vice of drinking, and to women, which gave time to Nasir Ullah Behadur, the Ameer of Bokhara, to fit out an army against him; and he marched with several

thousand irregular troops and four hundred regular troops, and six pieces of artillery, commanded by Abdul Samut Khan, towards Khokand, in the year 1842, after Conolly had left the town. He took Khokand by surprise. Muhammed Ali Khan intended to escape, but was made prisoner, with his wife. The cruel Nasir Ullah Behadur, at the advice of Abdul Samut Khan, put not only Muhammed Ali Khan to death, but also his wife, pregnant with child. The child was taken out of her and murdered. The slaughter continued a whole day. Abdul Samut Khan told me, smiling, "I never give quarter to any prisoner, I always kill every one." As soon as the inhabitants of Khokand received the news that both Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly had been put to death, they made themselves again independent, and elected the nephew of Muhammed Ali Khan, Sheer Ali Khan by name, as their King, and made an alliance with the King of Khiva against the King of Bokhara. The Ameer of Bokhara marched against Khiva, but was defeated; on his return to Bokhara he said, "My bowels of compassion did not allow me to shed more blood!"

During my stay at Bokhara he prepared again an expedition against Khokand, and arrived near Oratepa. As soon as he had learnt that Sheer Ali Khan came out to meet him with eleven thousand Ghirgese, he returned. I sent, previous to his march,

a Jew to Bokhara, to give notice to Sheer Ali Khan of the design of the Ameer. My readers have already perceived that I had given notice to Colonel Sheil of the same. For though he had declared that in case that he should be beaten he would put me to death, I thought it advisable, for the sake of humanity, to risk my life. He was beaten! I also was informed that he intended to take by surprise Shahr Sabz, a town which never was subdued by the Kings of Bokhara; for the surrounding country can be inundated, so that he cannot bring there artillery, and besides this the Shahr Sabz are very good horsemen. I therefore sent there also a Jew, giving notice to the Khan of the design of the Ameer to surprise Shahr Sabz on his way to Khokand. When the Ameer came near Shahr Sabz he found the whole country, in consequence, inundated, so that his army went towards Samarcand by another direction. The Ameer was heard to say, "Since I have killed these English people I do not prosper in anything." I had for about ten days at this period a Makhram, a kind-hearted guard, who allowed Muhammedans to come to me; among others a Cashmeerian came to me, who said, "Sheer Ali Khan, the King of Khokand, is very anxious that you should come to Khokand, in order that he may, through you, send presents to the Queen of England."

CHAPTER XV.

The Mervee wish to know the Story of Napoleon; Dr. Wolff recounts it in an Oriental fashion. He amuses the tedious hours of Captivity by telling various Anecdotes. His Anecdote of the Arabian Derveesh reaches the ears of the Daster Khanjee, who reports it to the Ameer. The Kasi Kelaun assures Dr. Wolff that the British Officers were put to death, and that the King deeply repented of the act. The Kasi Kelaun warned the Ameer of the Consequences. All the Jews knew of the Execution the same day, and the Inhabitants of Bokhara, in town and country, speak of it as a matter well known. Dr. Wolff tells an Anecdote of Frederick the Great of Prussia. Dr. Wolff laughs at Ameer Sarog's Vanity, and tells him the Tale of the Derveesh with the White Beard.

Some of the Mervee who called on me at this time, wished me to make them acquainted with the life of Napoleon. I will give my readers an idea of the manner in which European facts must be told to Eastern people. I began thus—bearing in mind that much of what I said would be considered as referable to my own circumstances: "There is a country in Frankistaun, which is called the Land of the Francees, which had a great Padishah. He had under his dominion, besides the land of Francees, a little island, which is called Corsica, in which is a little town with the name of Ajaccio. One of the Serkerdeha residing there was named Bonaparte, who had several sons; the name of the elder was Lucien—of the younger, Napoleon, who had a great inclination for becoming a Yoos-Bashi, or some other

chief among the soldiers; but as, in Europe, no person can become a chief of soldiers without having first studied the art of soldiery in a school purposely established for that object, Napoleon was sent to a school in the land of Francees, in a small town called Brienne, where he kept but little company, and made such progress that he was sent to the capital of Francees, Paris. At this time the people of the land of the Francees rose against their King, for, on their side, they had lost the fear of God; and on the part of the King, he was not governed by wise counsellors: and it came to such a pitch that they at last put to death the King and the Queen. And as that King and Queen were related to other Padishahs of Europe, and especially to the Padishah of Nemsa, *i. e.* Germany, they became involved in war, especially as the greater number of the people of the land of Francees began to deny all religion, and even the existence of a God, and persecuted those who said, 'We will rather die than give up our belief in God and in Jesus.'

"At that time, as I said, the young Napoleon was brought from the school, and distinguished himself at the taking of towns which were not willing to yield to the rebels; so that Napoleon, who was first Yoos-Bashi, was made Sirhenk, Colonel; and in the war with the Emperor of Nemsa, he distinguished himself by his intrepidity,

so that he became Serteeb, *i. e.* General; at which time he became acquainted with a lady, by whom it was foretold by a Kawlee-Berband (gipsy) that she should become a great Queen, but then fall again.

"Napoleon then went to Egypt with an army, took the whole of it, but was driven out by the Englees; and after that he had a battle with the combined armies of the King of Nemsa and the Emperor of Russia, in which he beat both of them. He was made Padishah of the Land of the Francees, and thus the prophecy of the Kawlee-Berband was fulfilled. But Napoleon was not satisfied. He wished to become like Timur Kurican, not only a Jehaun Geer, but also a Jehaun Dar, and he became proud; and he said as the Prophet Isaiah (the comfort of God and peace upon him!) predicted: 'I will sit in the sides of the north;' and he went therefore to Russia, where he was overcome by the snow, and by the army of Russia, and defeated.

"At last all the armies of the different Kings of Frankistaun, even the Emperor of Nemsa, whom he had compelled to give him his daughter, combined against him, when he was beaten by the great Serteeb of the English, Arthur Wellington, and the Serteeb of the Prussians, Blücher. He was made the prisoner of the English, and died in an island which is situated between the land of the Ghurb and

Hindūstaun; and the prophecy of Isaiah was thus fulfilled: 'They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee. Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, and did shake kingdoms? that made the world as a wilderness and destroyed the cities thereof? that opened not the house of his prisoners?' And the prediction of the Kawlee-Berband was fulfilled, that his Queen should fall again."

My readers will be surprised to perceive, that though a prisoner, and not allowed to stir out of the house unwatched, that I could amuse myself by entertaining those very people who betrayed me and imprisoned me, by telling them different anecdotes; but I did so. They certainly thought me the strangest of captives. They were one evening all seated around me, Dil Assa Khan, Ismael Khan, Kouli, Kaher Kouli, Ameer Sarog, and others of the Mervee. Each of these fellows was well calculated to be a torch leader in the race of rascality.

I told them the following story. They were all silent. There was a derveesh in Arabia, renowned in the whole of Arabistaun as a witty man. When that derveesh passed the house of a great Mufti, he wrote in Arabic three times upon the wall the word Donkey, and to each of these three donkeys he wrote a meaning. He said, the first donkey is he who has a watch and asks what o'clock it is; and

the second donkey is he who has a horse and who walks on foot. Here I paused, and said nothing, when the whole body of my hearers exclaimed, "Who is the third?" and I said, "Every one of you."

This anecdote reached the ears of the Daster Khanjee, who wrote to the King, then on the expedition to Khokand, the following words: "Youssuf Wolff, the Englishman, Your Majesty's slave, is now very cheerful, and gets fat from Your Majesty's bounty; and he has taken in the whole party who visited him with the following anecdote."

I had also a visit at this time from the Kasi Kelaun, relative to Stoddart and Conolly. My readers will ask me, and I have been asked in England, What evidences have you that Stoddart and Conolly are dead? I say, first, that there is no doubt that the King would have given anything to restore them to me. Even the Kasi Kelaun, on this secret visit, told me that he had never so repented of any act as of *that one:* and the Kasi Kelaun himself also said, one afternoon when all around me were asleep, "I warned His Majesty, but he will never hear advice, and I warned him one hour before he perpetrated the act." All the Jews knew it the very day of the execution, and they all told me of it; and thus every inhabitant of Bokhara, and of

all the country around, speak of it as a matter well known.

On another occasion I told a large party the following anecdote, which I was obliged to introduce somewhat oddly to make it intelligible:

A great Padishah reigned in Nemsa, whose name was Frederick, and who went by the name of The Great. He waged a seven years' war with many Padishahs, and though his men were few, he routed all his foes. As the language of the Nemsa is different from the language of the Francees, he one day gave the following order: "I, Frederick, have condescended to order, that if at any time one of the men of the country of the Francees comes and says, 'I wish to become a soldier in the army of the Padishah Frederick,' the Sirhenks and my officers are hereby commanded not to enlist him; as the Francees are never able to learn the language of the Nemsa, and give, consequently, a great deal of trouble." However, there came one day a man from the land of the Francees, who was very tall, and, as the Sirhenks knew that Frederick the Great liked tall soldiers, they said, "Let us take him, and try to teach him the language of Nemsa, in order that the King may not find out that he is a Francees." However, all their attempts to teach him the language of Nemsa were vain, so that they taught him by rote the answers to three questions, which the

King asked every year of every soldier, and of which he never changed the order. The first question which the King asked of every soldier was, "How old are you?" To which the soldier replied, giving his age. The second was, "How long have you been in the service?" To which the soldier replied according to circumstances. The third question was, "Are you contented with pay and food?" To which he answered by the word Both. The Sirhenk taught the soldier (the Francees) the following words, as answers to the three questions: "Twenty years," "Three years," and "Both." These he got by heart, and they told him to say at the first question, Twenty years; at the second, Three years; and at the third, Both. The King arrived after a year, and reviewed his soldiers, and put questions to every one of them, according to the usual order. But when he came to the tall man of Francees, he changed the order, putting the first question, "How many years have you been in my service?" He answered, "Twenty years." The second question of the King was, "How old are you?" To which he replied, "Three." Hasrat then demanded, "Am I a donkey, or you a donkey?" To which he replied, "Both."

At another time Ameer Sarog, the old roguish Tūrkomaun, sitting in the company of others with me, boasted that he had the finest beard in the

company, and that it was completely white. I replied, "Ameer Sarog, do you know the dream of a derveesh? A derveesh dreamt one day that he saw standing before him an old man with a fine venerable beard: the derveesh said to him, 'Oh, I know thee who thou art; thou shalt not deceive me with thy fine white beard. I know thee, that thou art Satan,' and began to pull out his beard. Upon which the derveesh awoke, and had his own beard pulled out." I then said to Ameer Sarog, "Take care that you have not a similar dream, for then you will lose your beard to a certainty." They all burst into a fit of laughter, and said, "Don't boast of your venerable beard in the presence of Youssuf Wolff, for he laughs in your beard."

CHAPTER XVI.

Abdul Samut Khan tells Dr. Wolff that he was the chief Instigator of the Slaughter at Khokand in the first War; his Motives were to create a Feud between the States, which he trusted would end in the Death of the Ameer. Abdul Samut Khan says that the first Expedition against Khokand was by the advice of Russia. People of Khokand have since made an Alliance with Russia. Policy of Russia was to bring this about by urging the Ameer to war on them when they would require Aid. Russians intend to erect a Fortress at Hasrat Sultan. People from Cabûl, Kashmeer, and Sinde call on Dr. Wolff; they praise highly Sir Charles Napier. Letter of Sir Charles Napier. Affghauns from Cabûl ascribe the Disasters of the British Army to the Immoral Conduct of the Officers. Determined Conduct of Major Rawlinson; he puts to Death an Affghaun for Murder. Manners and Customs of the Muhammedan Mullahs. Diligence of Muhammedans in copying the *Koran;* Propaganda and British and Foreign Bible Society discharge the same Office by the Christians. The Bible would be nearly extinct in the East but for these Societies. Arrival of Abbas Kouli Khan, the Persian Ambassador; he tells Dr. Wolff that the Shah, Haje, and Assaff-ood-Dowla had strongly recommended him to bring Dr. Wolff with him, or to send him on before him. Nayeb sends for Dr. Wolff; informs him that Yar Muhammed Khan had sent three Ambassadors to Bokhara, stating that Colonel Sheil had called the Ameer a Robber in the presence of the Russian and Yar Muhammed Khan's Ambassadors, of Dr. Wolff, and the Bokhara Ambassador; therefore Yar Muhammed Khan advised the Ameer to strike off Dr. Wolff's Head. Nayeb offers Dr. Wolff his Protection. Turkish Officer dies suddenly in the Nayeb's Garden. Another Conversation with the Nayeb. The Nayeb reports Abbas Kouli Khan's Mission untruly. Dr. Wolff tries to escape. The Nayeb violates his promise to protect Dr. Wolff. The King sends for him. Dr. Wolff charges the Nayeb with the Murder of Stoddart and Conolly; the Nayeb owns it. Dr. Wolff again tries to escape through a Water Hole from the Garden of the Nayeb to the House of the Yawer. While there a Woman is introduced to him; he is aware of the Stratagem to

compel him by her means to embrace Muhammedanism, and drives her from him. Ordered by the King to appear before him; leaves the Garden of Abdul Samut Khan; presents himself before the Ameer, who receives him sternly. Ordered to the Toora Khane and close Confinement; calls on Abbas Kouli Khan, who vows to save him. The King sends word to him that he may quit Bokhara in two ways; leaves to His Majesty the choice of either. King sets out for Samarcand.

RELATIVE to the first war on Khokand, I have stated that Abdul Samut Khan was the chief instigator of the fearful slaughter which then took place. The reasons that induced Abdul Samut Khan to advise the King of Bokhara to put to death the King of Khokand, and to massacre as many as possible of the inhabitants, were, that there might be an eternal blood feud between the two States. This feud he trusted would end in the death of the Ameer. These circumstances he communicated to me himself.

At the time when this miscreant pretended to be my friend, he told me also another highly important circumstance, which was this: that Boutenieff, the Russian ambassador, strongly advised the King of Bokhara to make war on Khokand before the first expedition; and it is remarkable that since he made war for the first time, the people of Khokand, as Abdul Samut Khan told me, have entered into an alliance with Russia; and it is a subject much canvassed, that the Russians intend to erect a fortress at or near the city called Hazrat Sultan, otherwise called Türkistaun.

On another day, during the expedition of the King to Khokand, people from Cabūl, Kashmeer and Sinde, called on me; those of Sinde expressed their highest admiration, not only of the valour and heroism of Sir Charles Napier, but also of his justice and equity. They said his name frightens the Poloojmore than the mentioning of the approach of an army; and I say it again, that I am sure that Sir Charles Napier would be the fittest man for being sent to Bokhara.

The following letter was written to me while I was at Bokhara, by this truly great man, Sir Charles Napier, Governor of Sinde, but it did not reach me until my return thence to Teheraun:

My dear Wolff, Sinde, 5th September, 1844.

I have received your letter and that to your wife, which I have sent to her. I am sure that the King of Bokhara will send you to the Queen of England, to satisfy her that His Majesty had just reason to slay Conolly and Stoddart. I am glad to hear that His Majesty treats you well. But he should send you to England; this would increase his renown over all the earth. I have a large army here, and if I was ordered by the Queen, I would go to Cabul and take it for England. Give all my best compliments to the King of Bokhara, whose fame is over all the world.

Your Friend,

C. J. NAPIER,

Governor of Sinde.

I can scarce say whether the kindness or consummate prudence of this letter most excited my

respect to this distinguished hero. The letter had appended to it the Persian translation, and I could have much wished it had reached me at Bokhara. I am sure that it might have been sent with perfect safety, and even in my imprisonment my heart would have indeed leapt within me with joy to think on the warriour chief of Sinde's kindness and anxious solicitude for my welfare. These points would also not have been lost on the Ameer. A friend so nigh, a hero whose fame was like a trumpet blast reaching far and wide, volunteering to come to Cabul with his legions, and speaking of that achievement as a small affair, and it would have been such with him, would not have been lost on the Usbeck Sovereign. The whole tone of the letter is well calculated to attain its end, and the hint about Cabul might without much difficulty be applied by the Ameer to Bokhara.

But now I come to a very delicate point. Affghauns from Cabūl at Bokhara, and also after my departure from Bokhara through the desert to Meshed, ascribed the disaster of the British army, and the indignation of the people of Affghaun against the army, to the conduct of several British officers, whose names I forbear mentioning, and who shocked the feelings of the natives by their introducing into the country the "vices of Europeans," and by the liberties they took with Affghaun

women. We see from this, that the exertions of judicious missionaries, who speak with the Muhammedans about the name of Jesus, may not shock the Orientals, but the immoralities of Europeans assuredly will. The general idea around Cabūl, is, that most of the British officers did not believe in a God. At Candahar it is quite different; the names of Major Rawlinson, of Nott, of Lugin, of Todd, are mentioned with regard; and the following account which I heard at Bokhara about Major Rawlinson pleased me very much, and the people who related it spoke with admiration of Major Rawlinson's self-possession at the following occurrence.

An Affghaun in open daylight put to death an Englishman at Candahar; he was brought bound before Major Rawlinson. The Major addressed him, "Why have you murdered that Saheb?" The Affghaun answered, "I would kill you if my hands were not bound." The Major, "Why so?" The Affghaun replied sternly, "What business have you infidels to enter our home? You infidels have no business in our home. Affghanistaun belongs to us, and it belonged to our ancestors. What business have you in our home?" An Affghaun present turned to Major Rawlinson, and in order to save the criminal said to him, "Major, he is mad." The murderer heard him, and said, "I am not mad; I am full of understanding: these infidels

have no business in our home." Upon which the Affghaun paid the penalty of his crime by death.

I have now to touch on another point, namely, on the manners and customs of the Muhammedan mullahs at Bokhara, and all over the world. The dignity of Sheikh-Islam, of Cazi, of Muffti, of Imaum-Jumaa, are the highest which are in the Muhammedan persuasion, and they correspond to those of archbishops and bishops in the Christian Church, and the honours conferred on them by the monarch exceed those conferred on the Christian clergy by any King: thus, for instance, the Sultan kisses the hand of the Sheikh-Islam at Constantinople, and the Ameer of Bokhara kisses the hand of the Sheikh-Islam there; yet those very Sheikh-Islams are surrounded by the poor of their nation and the poorest has free access to the Sheikh-Islam. We frequently hear poor mullahs (priests) and others of the poor laity say, "I must go to my Sheikh-Islam at Bokhara;" and I heard others say, "I must go to the Imaum-Jumaa at Meshed:" and this confidence of the poor towards their clergy is also prevalent among the Armenian, Greek, and Chaldean and Jacobite Christians,—"I must go up to the Katokhikos at Ech-Miazin, in order to receive relief:" one hears the same thing said in the Armenian dwellings at Wagarshabat, and in those around Mount Ararat. This confidence of the poor

in their prelates also prevails in the Roman Catholic Church, and there exists also a strong reliance of the poor on their ecclesiastical authorities among the Lutherans in Germany. I frequently saw, in the year 1811, the Superintendent-general Voigt, at Saxe Weimar, and Dr. Flatt, at Tübingen, surrounded by poor, and I heard those very superintendents frequently listening, not only to the entreaties but even to the insulting remarks of the poor, who are often very impertinent; I say I heard them frequently listening to them with the greatest attention. It were highly desirable that this prevailed to a greater extent in Christian countries among the dignitaries of their respective establishments.

The Muhammedans are also very diligent in copying their *Koran*, on which account thousands of copies are always extant. This is not the case with copies of the Bible. Neither Jews nor Christians have the means of obtaining many written copies of their sacred documents; and therefore, if the Propaganda had not in former times, and the British and Foreign Bible Society in our own, sent printed copies to the East, the Christians would certainly have been without any copies of the sacred records, save a few preserved in convents.

At last, Abbas Kouli Khan, the Persian Ambassador, on whom I knew my life depended, arrived.

I called on him the first day, when he told me that Muhammed Shah, the Haje, and the Assaff-ood-Dowla, had strongly recommended him either to bring me back, or send me on before him; but I was scarcely with him a few minutes when the Nayeb sent for me to give me important news. I immediately went to him, and he said that there had arrived now three Ambassadors from Yar Muhammed Khan, saying that Colonel Sheil and myself, when at Teheraun, had quarrelled with the Bokhara Ambassador; that Colonel Sheil had called the Ameer a robber, who had stolen Stoddart and Conolly's property; and that Colonel Sheil had done so in the presence of the Russian and Yar Muhammed Khan's Ambassadors; and that he (Yar Muhammed Khan) therefore advised the King to cut off my head; but the Nayeb said, "Now remain with me here in the garden; if the King does not send for you in a few days, I will let you escape, either to Shahr-Sabz or Organtsh. I swear to you by the head of Abdullah Khan—by the *Koran*—that I will do so; and if the King will take you by force, I will beat the drum—drum! drum! drum! and say, 'Halt, Front!' for I know that the King will send you home. The King said that he knew that Yar Muhammed Khan was a *liar* and uttered a few words which convince me that he will not kill you; *i. e.*, '*I must send Joseph Wolff soon*

away, for I have had wounds enough since I killed Stoddart and Conolly.'"

A few days after this conversation a Turkish officer, coming from Constantinople, and intending to go to Khokand to see his mother there, and who was already for some months under the surveillance of the Nayeb, suddenly died in the garden of the Nayeb whilst I was there. The Nayeb told me that he had strangled himself, but he refused to show to me his body; all the officers of the Nayeb however, affirmed that the Nayeb himself had caused him to be murdered.

The day following, Makhram Kasem came to have some private conversation with the Nayeb. I retired a few minutes; afterward the Nayeb called out, "Youssuf Wolff, come here." I came; he told me, "Makhram Kasem has just brought me a piece of news, but fear not, for the King knows that the intent of it is to involve him in a war with England."

W. What news?

Nayeb. "Abbas Kouli Khan has arrived here with five requests from Muhammed Shah. The first request of the King of Persia is, that he (the Ameer) should put you to death. The Haje Mirza Aghasee wrote the same. Those Kajar are fathers of the curse, but fear not; I shall see the King next Sunday." I shut myself up in one of his rooms, and

prayed; and soon after, when the Nayeb went to his harem, Behadur, above mentioned, came to me, and said, "I am not an Iranee (Persian), I am a Hindee. I have eaten the salt of Englishmen. If you like, I will let you escape, and bring you to Khoollom, and thence go with you to India, but don't tell the Nayeb of it." We agreed that we should leave that very evening, but in the evening I found a Carowal (guard) around my bed. I also observed, that the Nayeb had sent a private message to the King.

The morning following, a Makhram, whom I hitherto had not seen, came in great agitation, and said, "You must go to town, you are here tired; the King orders you." As the Nayeb was up-stairs, I called out, "Nayeb!" The rascal came down. The hue of his complexion was quite black; I almost started at the sight. I asked him whether he knew the King's order. He said, "Yes, and you must obey." This absolute contradiction of his express promise to protect me, even from the Ameer himself, incensed me beyond bounds, and I said, "I now see that the people are right, who say that you are the cause that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly have been killed; you are *a liar*, *a traitor*, and *a rascal!* you intend to kill me too." To this he replied, "Yes, I have killed them; Stoddart quarrelled with me and my brother, who is a Haje, in

ABDUL SAMUT KHAN,

NAYEB OF THE AMEER OF BOKHARA.

G. F. Viane. del.

Day & Haghe Lithrs

my garden, about tillahs." I then said, "Liar! why did you always tell me that Stoddart and Conolly have always been your friends?" He replied, "I know how to treat you Franks as you ought to be treated." The Makhram again said that I must go with him. I said, "No;" and saying this, I ran out of the garden over a low part of the wall, when Behadur followed me, and said, "Now I will let you escape."

He brought me, first of all, to the garden belonging to the Nayeb's son, Abdullah, which garden is not yet quite finished, where, on a former occasion, the Nayeb told me that he intended to construct a fortress to defend himself in case of need against the Ameer; when, quite against all expectation, Ameer Abool Kasem was brought to me by the Nayeb's order. He informed me that he was the intended Ambassador for England. [*Note.* I have forgotten to mention above, that the Nayeb advised me, when an Ambassador was first proposed, and the proposal accepted, that I should administer poison to him on the road, which of course I rejected with horror.] I said to Ameer Abool Kasem, "I know that the Ameer intends to kill me;" and as I had a little paper and ink with me, I wrote a note to the Nayeb, saying, "*Now I know that you are a traitor and a liar!* and that you will kill me as you have killed Stoddart and

Conolly;" and I gave the note to Ameer Abool Kasem, who gave it to the Nayeb.

Behadur then brought me, through a water-hole, to the house of the Yawer (major), situated about three hundred feet distance from the Nayeb's house, whence Behadur and the Yawer promised to let me escape that very evening. The evening approached, when the Yawer came and said that the Ameer, under the supposition that I had escaped, had sent soldiers on all the different roads to pursue me; it would be therefore better for me to stay there until the troops of the Ameer had come back, and after they had given up pursuing me. He (the Yawer) and Behadur would accompany me to Shahr Sabz, Khoollom, and even as far as India. I told them that I was convinced that the Nayeb was a traitor and a liar, in whose words in future I should place no reliance, and that I expected my fate with patience and resignation.

Both Behadur and the Yawer went out of the room, when a female, in the most coquettish manner, and unveiled, entered it. I at once observed the trap, and exclaimed, in a loud voice, and with great apparent rage, "Go to hell!" The Yawer and Behadur immediately entered, and asked what was the matter? I explained the whole. It was the same trick which the rascally Nayeb tried to play to Stoddart and Conolly, for I heard from different people

that the same stratagem had been practised on them, with a view to forcing them to become Muhammedans, but in vain. To this he compels every slave he takes, in order to sell the issue from them as slaves.

I slept at night in the house of the Yawer, Behadur and Hussein Ali, both servants of the Nayeb, near me, and when I told them that they should sleep at a greater distance from me, they objected that the Nayeb had ordered them to do so; but I pushed them away by force.

The next morning, one of the King's head officers came and ordered me, in the name of the King, to go to town, and that I should instantly receive leave for my departure. I obeyed; but previous to this I was brought to the Nayeb, where the rascal told me that he had given twenty tillahs to the head officer, that he should treat me with respect, and that I should get leave to depart after twenty days.

I left the horrid garden of that bloodhound, and rode to the town. It was on a Friday. I was first ordered to make my Salaam to the King; but was not brought as usual previously to a decent room of the palace, but was obliged to wait outside the gate until the Ameer appeared, which he soon did. He looked sternly at me, and evidently displeased. I was then ordered by His Majesty to accompany the Makhram, and two other guards, to my old quarters in the Toora Khane, where now, also, Abbas Kouli

Khan was residing, and that I should not stir out of the house without especial order from His Majesty. I came to the Toora Khane, and occupied the same room which Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly had previous to their execution.

I called on Abbas Kouli Khan, who, fortunately, lived in the same house, so that he did not come under the prohibition, I considered, at least I was determined not to understand the order in that sense. He instantly said, "I swear to you, by God and the *Koran*, that I will not leave Bokhara without you." I told him that Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan had told me that he had been ordered by Muhammed Shah to effect my detention and death at Bokhara. He in a most dignified manner denied the charge, and produced his instruction from Haje Mirza Agasee, Prime Minister to the King of Persia, in which he was distinctly ordered to effect my release from Bokhara.

Towards the evening, the Ameer sent to me the following message: "There were people at Bokhara from Khokand and Organtsh, whose inhabitants were guilty of blood; and beside them, people from Cabūl, Cashmeer, and Hindūstaun. None of them had been molested by him. All of them enjoyed his protection. He (His Majesty) therefore felt greatly incensed that I had openly declared at Bokhara that His Majesty's intention was to put

me to death; that His Majesty had been red in his face from anger. He therefore now asked me whether I would leave Bokhara without honour and in disgrace, or with honour and filled with favour. In the first case, His Majesty would furnish me with a simple passport; in the second case, he would, after his return from Samarcand, adorn me with a robe of honour, and send an Ambassador with me to England."

I sent as an answer that I repented having given cause to His Majesty to be angry with me; and with respect to the mode of my going from Bokhara, I left that entirely to His Majesty's choice.

The next day he set out for Samarcand with the intention of reconquering Khokand and Tashkand.

CHAPTER XVII.

Jews obtain leave from the Ameer to visit Dr. Wolff; they sing with him, and ask for the Names of illustrious Jews who had embraced Christianity; he tells them of several, *viz.*, Emanuel Veith, M.D., Dr. Mayers, Dr. August Neander, Dr. Ratisbon, Isaac da Costa, Dr. Kabbadose, Madame Dorothea Schlegel. Conversation with Polish Jew. Various Anecdotes. Muhammed Bakher Nakash, the Servant of Conolly, abjures Islam, and says the Christians are better Men than the Muhammedans; he is brought before the Sheikh Islam; persists in his Avowal; is sent to Prison, and flogged. Ameer returns; sends to Dr. Wolff a Mullah, to know whether he will embrace the Muhammedan Religion; Dr. Wolff replies, *Never*. Executioner sent also. Letter from the Shah; Hajo Ibrahim, the Brother of Abdul Samut Khan, informs the Nayeb of the Letter, and urges him to prevent Abbas Kouli Khan from receiving it. Muhammed Bakher saved by Dr. Wolff. Atrocities of Abdul Samut Khan; gets a Türkomaun beheaded, who came to save Stoddart; also Ephraim, a Jew, from Meshed; Prisoners in his Garden; their Moanings and Wailings. Impression throughout the Muhammedan Countries that England and Russia will seize all those Regions. Remark of Bokharalee to Dr. Wolff. Affghauns praise the English. Habeeb, weeping, tells Dr. Wolff that he is to die. Servants of Abdul Samut Khan announce his Death, and show a Letter from Abdul Samut Khan to that effect. Dr. Wolff makes up his mind to die.

Previous to the departure of the Ameer for Khokand, the Jews most kindly asked his leave to visit me; which was granted. They called on me, and desired me to sing a Hebrew melody, for they said, "Your voice is sonorous and sweet." I sang in a plaintive strain: "By the waters of Babylon we sate down and wept, for we remembered Zion," &c.

After this, we sang the Hymn of the Jews in Tūrkistaun:

The King our Messiah shall come.
The Mighty of the Mighty is He.
The King, the King, the King our Messiah shall come.
The Blessed of the Blessed is He.
The King, the King, our Messiah.
The Great One of the Great is He.

The Jews here asked me whether there were any Jews of distinction in our days who had embraced Christianity. I replied, "Several;" and they wished to have their names, which they wrote down. I gave them the following:

1st. Emanuel Veith, M.D., now Domprediger of the Cathedral of St. Stephen's at Vienna.
2nd. Dr. Mayers, Professor of Jurisprudence at Tübingen.
3rd. Dr. August Neander, at Berlin.
4th. Rev. Dr. Ratisbon, in France.
5th. Isaac da Costa, in Amsterdam.
6th. Dr. Kabbadose, in Amsterdam.
7th. Madame Dorothea Schlegel.

I gave them the following history of them:

"Emanuel Veith was born in the year 1788, at Klattau, in Bohemia, and studied regularly at the university of Prague; after this at Vienna. He distinguished himself so much in medicine, and especially in the veterinary department and natural history, that he received the office of Professor of Medicine

and Natural History, and Director of the Veterinary Hospital at Vienna, when only twenty-four years of age. He was the most popular physician at Vienna, not only on account of his success, but also by reason of his benevolence and philanthropy: when suddenly he began to read the Bible, and the writings of Saint Augustin and Jerome. He studied theology, and is now the greatest divine and preacher at Vienna. His Sermons on the Resurrection of Lazarus; his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer; his Journeys to the Holy Mountains; his Religious Tales; are considered masterpieces in the German literature.

"Dr. Mayers was born in the year 1798, in Germany, and distinguished himself for his knowledge of the Talmud at the early age of seven. He was born at Freudenthal, near Stuttgart, in Wirtemburg. He entered the Gymnasium of Stuttgart, and previous to entering the University of Tübingen he made a speech in Greek that astonished the learned. He is now a pious Christian, and a celebrated professor.

"Dr. August Neander is also of Jewish parents, though Neologistic in views. He is evidently a sincere and pious inquirer after truth. He is Professor of Theology at Berlin. His Apostolical and Ecclesiastial History are the productions of a mind deeply imbued with spiritual religion.

"Ratisbon is a Roman Catholic priest, whose Life of St. Bernard has excited the greatest sensation in France.

"Isaac da Costa springs from those Jews who were what are called 'The Compelled,' 'Anusim,' in Spain, and is grand nephew to the famous Uriel da Costa, Canon of Barcelona, who when he had left Spain and reached Amsterdam, returned to Judaism, which he embraced, and all his family, and after this committed suicide. Isaac da Costa was educated as a Jew at Amsterdam, but studied the law at Leyden, and was converted, through the instrumentality of Bilderdyk, to the Christian religion; and he was instrumental to the conversion of his mother and family to that faith; and also of Dr. Kabbadose, in the same manner as Uriel da Costa had converted his family to the Jewish belief. Da Costa is a celebrated writer, and a devoted admirer of the spirit of the Middle Age, but a high Calvinist in his views; a man of powerful eloquence, and a poet.

"Dr. Kabbadose, the convert of Da Costa, spends his days in acts of benevolence. I must here observe, that it must be confessed that only those Jews that have had a thorough education have approved themselves to be sincere Christians; and it seems, therefore, highly desirable that the colleges in England should be open to the Jews.

"Madame Dorothea Schlegel was the daughter of

the most celebrated philosopher of the Jewish nation, Moses Mendelsohn. She married Veith, a Jewish banker at Berlin. When Friederich Schlegel wrote his celebrated book, *Lucinde*, Madame Veith replied to it in a book called *Florentine*. She had two sons of Veith, but was afterwards separated from Veith, and married Schlegel. Both of them, Schlegel and herself, became Roman Catholics at Cologne; when Schlegel became a mighty defender of the Middle Age, and his wife a great admirer of the Spanish literature. She translated several things from Spanish into German; without pretending to be a preacher, she converted, through her conversation, many Neologists to the Christian religion. Her two sons, Johannes Veith and Philip Veith, also, were baptized by Cardinal Severoli, the Pope's Nuncio at Vienna. Both Johannes Veith and Philip Veith are celebrated painters in Germany. I knew them at Rome, where they enjoyed the highest esteem among both Roman Catholics and Protestants for their talents, genius, industry, and piety.

"I must not omit to record, also, of Philip Veith, that in the war of Germany against Napoleon, he and Theodor Körner, the well known poet, entered as volunteers among the Prussians. He fought by the side of the chivalric La Motte Fouqué, in the battle of Leipzic. When a Prussian corps was yielding, Philip Veith called out, 'Forward, comrades,'

cheered them to action, and conducted himself with such gallantry and heroism, that Blücher made him an officer on the battle plain."

About this time a Polish-Russian Jew, residing at Shamay, called on me. Among other points, I conversed with him also about the distinguished Jews in Germany, when he reminded me of the following interesting anecdote, which my father told me when a boy myself. Rabbi Israel, of Brunswick, when a boy, was very poor; and one day, on his arrival at a convent of monks, hungry and fatigued, he begged the abbot to give him something to eat. The abbot ordered that some pork should be brought to him. Poor Israel of Brunswick said: "Pardon me, your Reverence, I am not allowed to eat pork." *Abbot.* "If you are such a fool, you shall not have anything at all to eat." The poor Jew went away, sighing. The abbot sent after him, and requested him to return. On his return, the abbot said to him: "Now, as you are so conscientious, and prefer rather suffering hunger, to the transgression of your law, I shall make you the agent of my monastery." Israel went on prospering in the world, and became the richest man of Brunswick; and his son Jacobson was made by Napoleon Knight of the Legion of Honour, and by Jerome Napoleon, President of all the Jews in Westphalia. Jacobson established a school for Jews and Gentiles at Seeyen,

near Brunswick. I knew, when in the Propaganda, a journeyman tailor who was afterwards housekeeper of this Jacobson; his name was Reese. He left at last the house of Jacobson, and came to Rome, where he became acquainted with the valet of the old Princess Jablonowsky, and through him, with the Princess herself, who observed the great talents of Reese, and recommended him to Cardinal Litta, who received him as pupil of the Propaganda; and Reese is now Bishop of Michigan, in America.

The Polish-Russian Jew, now residing at Shamay, in Chinese Tatary, of whom I have just spoken, related to me the following account of the mother of the famous Rabbi Judah Hashid, born at Wurms, in Germany. When his mother was pregnant with him, she was walking in the street of Wurms, and a Christian, who was a great enemy to the Jews, intended to drive his carriage over her, but suddenly the tower fell upon one side in order to overshadow her; from which time the tower of Wurms is crooked.

He then told me the following anecdote, (or, rather, brought it back to my remembrance, for I had heard it also in my father's house,) of the conversion of Baron Adlerfeld, son to the famous Rabbi, Jonathan Eubeschütz: "Baron Adlerfeld became so rich, that the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire made a baron of him. Adlerfeld resided at Dresden.

He forgot in prosperity the religion of his forefathers, and became an infidel. His father, who was Rabbi at Hamburg, had died many years before his apostacy, when his ghost suddenly appeared before his son, and said: 'My son, remember that you are a son of Israel; if you repent well, if not, the Lord will take you away, and cut you off from his congregation.' Baron Adlerfeld died a real believer in Moses and the Talmud."

We then talked about other learned Jews, *viz.* the celebrated Hezkiel Jampeles, also called Rabbi Landau, at Prague. I then gave to him also accounts of rich and interesting Jews whom I knew in Germany. My Jewish friends in England and Germany will be glad to learn that I made the Jews of Bokhara acquainted with the following interesting members of their communion in Germany.

1st. The late Dr. Oppenheim, at Frankfort on the Main, who died in the year 1816. He was highly esteemed on account of his philanthropy, by Christians as well as by Jews.

2nd. Salomon Sichel, at Frankfort on the Main, who has now a son residing at Manchester, Nathan Sichel by name.

3rd. The family of Kaula, at Stuttgart, the richest and most benevolent Jews in Germany.

4th. Dr. Friedlaender, in Berlin, the friend of Moses Mendelssohn.

5th. Mayr Obernick, translator of the Prophets.

6th. Mr. Zirndorfer, at Munich, distinguished by his knowledge of the German literature.

7th. Mr. Joelsohn, at Frankfort, one of the great reformers of the Jewish nation.

8th. Mr. Hesz, professor of the Jewish Philanthropic College at Frankfort on the Main.

My Jewish brethren will hence perceive that I remember them in distant countries.

I cannot forbear mentioning also a curious circumstance which happened to me in the year 1842. When I was a boy, thirteen years of age, I went at Frankfort to the Gymnasium, and learnt Latin. Dr. Oppenheim and Solomon Sichel behaved very kindly to me, but I was very idle; and having become ill, I left Frankfort in the year 1809. When I was curate at High Hoyland, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, in 1842, I called one day on my friends the manufacturers, Messrs. Joseph and George Norton, at Clayton West, when I met there a Jew, who addressed me in the following manner: "You know my father!"

W. Who is your father?

Young man. Mr. Sichel, of Frankfort.

W. Salomon Sichel?

Young man. He was my grandfather; my father's name is Nathan Sichel.

The Jews are, after all, a most clever people; they get over difficulties in a most singular manner. As an instance, I mention the following fact, which I heard, of my friend Dr. Mc Caul. Dr. Mc Caul

wished one day to have an interview with the late Rev. Solomon Hirschel, Chief Rabbi of London; he therefore called on Rabbi Hirschel in the evening, and sent in his card. The Rabbi admitted him. He asked Dr. Mc Caul who he was; and Dr. Mc Caul told him that he was a missionary to the Jews.

Rabbi Hirschel. How are your converts going on?

Mc Caul. As the rest of the Jews—some of them are good, some are bad.

Rabbi H. All of your converts are bad.

Mc Caul. Could you tell me something about the coming of the Messiah?

Rabbi H. We know nothing about it; after the Messiah shall have made his appearance, then we shall know it.

Mc Caul. Then fools will know it.

Rabbi H. Perhaps I am a fool.

And thus the interview had an end.

While the Ameer was absent at Samarcand, Muhammed Bakher Nakash, *i.e.* the Painter, formerly in the service of Conolly, loudly exclaimed in a bath, "The Frankee are by far better than the Mussulmauns. Muhammed was no prophet. He was a cruel tyrant, and thus are all his followers. There is one God, but no prophet does exist." He was brought before the Sheikh Islam, and questioned about his public declaration.

Sheikh al-Islam (to Muhammed Bakher). Is it true that you have made such a declaration?

Muhammed Bakher. Yes! I have loudly proclaimed that there is no Prophet.

Sh. Do you believe, perhaps, that Jesus is a prophet?

M. B. No.

Sh. Mullah Youssuf Wolff does not agree with you, for he believes that Jesus is not only a prophet, but he calls him also the Son of God.

M. B. I believe no prophet; but Jesus was a better man than Muhammed, and the followers of Jesus are better than the followers of Muhammed.

Muhammed Bakher was then sent to prison and flogged, but without any use. The mullahs then sent off an express courier to the Ameer, who was at that time at Samarcand; but he ordered them not to put him to death until he came back. On the return of the Ameer, he sent, as my readers will see in the next chapter, a mullah to me, to know whether I would become a Muhammedan; and an executioner to threaten me with death.

But the letter of the King of Persia had arrived, which was written and sent at the request of Colonel Sheil, to the care of the Assaff-ood-Dowla at Meshed, who delivered it to my friend Mullah Mehdee, who with the greatest secrecy delivered it into the hands of a Türkomaun for Abbas Kouli Khan at Bokhara. Most providential it was that Ibrahim, brother of Abdul Samut Khan, was

not at Meshed at the time, for on his return to Meshed he learned that Mullah Mehdee had sent off a letter from the Shah to the Ameer. He in a rage ran to Mullah Mehdee, and said to him, "Why did you send away the letter from the King of Persia to the Ameer of Bokhara? and why did you not give the letter to me, when I would have forwarded the letter to my brother, Abdul Samut Khan, who would have delivered it himself to the King?" Now that this fact is true is clear, for Behadur, Abdul Samut Khan's servant above mentioned, told me that he had seen a letter from Haje Ibrahim, in which Haje Ibrahim wrote to Abdul Samut Khan by an express messenger the following words: "That cursed Jew, Mullah Mehdee, has sent off a letter from the Shah to the Ameer, to be delivered by Abbas Kouli Khan. I was not at Meshed at the time, and therefore could not intercept the letter. Do all you can, dear brother, to prevent the letter coming into the hands of Abbas Kouli Khan, for if it reach him you will not succeed in keeping the Frankee, and on his arrival in England he will confound us all."

That this statement of Behadur is true, is certain from the following circumstance: that on my arrival at Meshed, Mullah Mehdee himself told me the instant he saw me that Haje Ibrahim was absent from Meshed at the time, and was highly incensed

with him for sending off the letter. This letter also deterred the King from doing anything to Muhammed Bakher, as he was the servant to Conolly, and gave me liberty from captivity, and the King observed at the same time: "No harm must be done to Muhammed Bakher, for Joseph Wolff is more than a mere derveesh."

I must now give, in addition to the above, a few more examples of the atrocities committed by that villain, Abdul Samut Khan, testified to me by that respectable person Khoja Saheb of Cashmeer, and others. A Tūrkomaun came to Bokhara for the purpose of saving Stoddart. Abdul Samut Khan was informed of it, and he immediately gave notice of the attempt to the Ameer, who instantly ordered the Turkomaun's head to be struck off.

Ephraim, a Jew from Meshed, also arrived to assist Stoddart, when that villain also informed the King of it, and the poor Jew was also beheaded. Whenever I was in the garden of that villain, he brought me on purpose near the place where he had his prisoners, and I heard the moanings and wailings of those who sighed in prison. He, well pleased with himself, said to me: "Youssuf Wolff, do you observe what power I have? The Ameer inflicts upon criminals only seventy-five stripes; but I two t[illegible] sand stripes."

[illegible]he impression, from the Dardanelles to

the Oxus, and from thence to the utmost boundaries of Tibet, that England and Russia shall be the conquerors of the world, and the people are not dissatisfied with it, but, on the contrary, wish that that event may soon take place.

One of the people of Bokhara paid a visit to Dil Assa Khan; on his leaving him he saw me walking about, near my room. He looked at me and said: "This Englishman in his mullah's dress is only the forerunner of great events; not without reason has he appeared here with the Books of the Christians open, placed at his heart; this is a sign that very soon the Christian Powers shall set at defiance the whole of Islam, and Jesus shall be King over all the world for the space of forty years, and Dujaal (Antichrist) shall come."

An Affghaun sat down in the evening near my room, and said: "I am well acquainted with the mode of Government in India; every Englishman in India is a king, and therefore they will not be satisfied with Hindūstaun alone, but their rule will be spread all over China; and Russia will soon be in possession of the city of Tūrkistaun, Khokand, and Organtsh;" and by a hint directed towards me, he indicated also the kingdom of Bokhara.

Another said, "I always told the people of Affghanistaun, 'Do not rise against the English people, for the English people have wings, and

if you drive them out now, they will soon come again.'"

Another observed: "Russia and England are two great rival powers. A certain Vicovich was sent from Russia to Dost Muhammed Khan, but he was soon recalled, and he died by suicide."

Habeeb, one of the guards who watched me, came one day weeping in my room, and said: "Curses, thousand curses to Abdul Samut Khan; he has at last succeeded in inducing the King to send an order here to put you to death immediately on his return." Scarcely had he done, when servants of Abdul Samut Khan entered my room and showed to me actually a letter from Abdul Samut Khan to one of his officers, writing to him: "Hasrat" (His Majesty) "has at last decided to put to death the Englishman, and nothing will save the man! Let him go to the devil; what business had he to come to Bokhara?" I looked at the seal, and it was the seal of Abdul Samut; and gave myself up for lost.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Colonel Sheil. Bad Conduct of Dr. Wolff's Servants. Remark of Usbecks on the Treatment of Dr. Wolff. Questions put by the Makhrams by order of the King to Dr. Wolff. Kindness of Abbas Kouli Khan to Dr. Wolff; the noblest-minded Persian Dr. Wolff has seen; sends Dr. Wolff Food from his own Table; places a Servant with Dr. Wolff for his personal Safety; sends his Physician to Dr. Wolff to treat him for the Rishta. Abbas Kouli Khan and Dr. Wolff read together. Various Reports of the Ameer's Proceedings. Abbas Kouli Khan's Religious Opinions. Conversation with People of Samarcand; they tell Dr. Wolff of Gold Mines and Turquoises near Samarcand; of Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane. Letter of Abbas Kouli Khan to Lady Georgiana. Nayeb sends two thousand tillahs to Dr. Wolff. The Letter of Lord Ellenborough reported to be at Balkh; arrives in forty days; Seal broken. Abdul Samut Khan leaves Bokhara for Samarcand; his Message to Dr. Wolff. Vile Conduct of Abdullah; tries to rob Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff wishes the Jews to take charge of Abdul Samut Khan's Money; they decline it, on the ground that Abdul Samut Khan would take it from them, and make them pay for it. Letters arrive at Bokhara from the Brother of Conolly; Dr. Wolff opens them. Abbas Kouli Khan's continued Kindness to Dr. Wolff. The Jews visit Dr. Wolff; their curious method of Conversation. Dr. Wolff writes to the "Sovereigns of Europe." A second Letter, with strict Instructions about Dr. Wolff's Safety, arrives from the Shah. Letter to Captain Grover. Return of the Ameer and Abdul Samut Khan to Bokhara. King reads Lord Ellenborough's Letter; determines in his own mind, Abdul Samut Khan says, to kill Dr. Wolff. Others say that Abdul Samut Khan advised him to do so. Abbas Kouli Khan, Dil Assa Khan, and Dr. Wolff, visit the Ameer; he does not look on Dr. Wolff. Letter to Lady Georgiana and his Son. All Letters sent open by Dr. Wolff. Mullah sent to Dr. Wolff to know if he would embrace Muhammedanism; he replies, *Never*. Executioner visits him. Dr. Wolff prepares for Death. Abbas Kouli Khan intimates to the Ameer that he has a Letter to deliver from the Shah. The Ameer receives it, and gives Dr. Wolff up to him.

It seems to me that both Colonel Sheil and the Foreign Office at home, have been deceived in the

character of that bloodhound, Abdul Samut Khan, and though I am sorry to say anything to the disparagement of Colonel Sheil, on account of the hospitality shown to me, and the prompt assistance he gave to me, by forwarding the letter of the King of Persia to Bokhara, yet I must say that it appeared to me that Colonel Sheil seemed to be unwilling to be undeceived respecting the real character of Abdul Samut Khan; though my description of the character of that infamous villain was confirmed by Abbas Kouli Khan, and is further confirmed by every Persian who has been at Bokhara, and I perceive the infamy of that miscreant is well known to Monsieur de Bode and to Sir Claude Martin Wade.

On another day, my servant Abdullah entered my room in a furious way, and said: "Now they are going to kill you, and what shall I do here? I have no money for going back. Give me a letter to the Ambassador of your nation at Teheraun to make me a present of two thousand tillahs; if not, I will kill you now. If you do so before the Ameer sends this order, I will get some Khoja (saint) to speak in your behalf." I took a stick and gave him such a beating as I never gave to any one; and I turned him out of the room, and out of my service; but Abbas Kouli Khan besought me to keep him again, as it would not be safe at Bokhara to suffer him to run about and excite, perhaps, the populace against

me. So I took him again, which made him only more impertinent; and the villain Abdul Samut Khan encouraged him in it, and sent me word that I should give him a sum of money, in order that he might not play the Haramzadeh, *i. e.* the traitor. However, I must not go into details of what I suffered at Bokhara by that villain Abdul Samut Khan, and my servant Abdullah. I only can say that I frequently wished that the King of Bokhara would not delay my execution, in order to have peace for ever; and I must say, that it was an inconsiderate act of Colonel Sheil to send to me a demand for money from that villain from Bokhara to England; for by the items, he (Colonel Sheil) ought to have seen that the promise was extorted from a poor prisoner who had death before his eyes.

I was very ill one morning;—on awaking from sleep, Abdullah screamed: "I have committed a great error by coming to Bokhara with an infidel." I said: "Do you not perceive that I am very unwell?" Abdullah, in a most malicious manner, replied: "Then be well. All the same to me."

Usbecks from Bokhara who were present, and the guards of the King observed, "They try to kill this poor Englishman by annoying him;" and another observed, "It is all at the advice of that villain Abdul Samut Khan, who wishes to bring our Ameer into difficulties with the English, and the villain

would like to see Bokhara destroyed, and he himself gain by it."

On another day I got a message from the King. His Majesty wished to know whether the English people could make a bridge over the Oxus? I replied, "Yes, with very great ease." He immediately sent another Makhram with the question, "How many cannons have the English?" I replied, that I never counted them; but I was sure that they must have several thousand pieces of artillery. A third Makhram was sent the same day, with the question, In how many days a caravan of camels would arrive in England? I replied, "No caravan of camels could proceed to England; such a thing is not seen in England."

The kindness I experienced from Abbas Kouli Khan at this trying period, when so many evils beset my path, and my life was on the brink of destruction, I must ever remember with the deepest gratitude, though he was by no means without apprehension for his own fate, but laboured, as all at Bokhara must, under terrible misgivings of his own personal safety. Abbas Kouli Khan was formerly Governor at Bushire, in the Persian Gulf, and therefore acquainted with English people. He was a man of a higher sense of honour than I had ever met among the Persians. When he perceived that I could not eat horseflesh, and tea with salt and milk, and besides

this, rice only half boiled, he sent me daily a pilaw of his own cooked in the Persian style; and as he perceived that I was in danger of being murdered by the guards set over me by the King, or by Abdullah my servant, or Dil Assa Khan, he sent one of his own servants to sleep in my apartment; and as he soon saw that I had an attack of the "Rishta," he sent one of his own physicians to bleed me.

I also was enabled to go every day to him, when we read together some of the Persian works, as *Scandername*, which details the adventures of Alexander, and Tabari, a book which I afterwards received as a present from the King. I heard, also, in his company, several contradictory reports from the camp of the King; for instance, one day the news came that the Ameer had arrived at the gates of Khokand, and that the Cazi, Mufti, and others, had come forth to bring him the keys. Another day that the Ameer had, out of mercy to the inhabitants of Khokand, retired with his army, but the fact was, that he was beaten, and had lost twelve Generals or Serkerdeha.

I also had with Abbas Kouli Khan many conversations on religion. His belief was, that the whole world would become Christians, and that Christ would govern forty days upon earth. After this, that Antichrist would appear, when all the world would become Mussulmans.

Whilst I was with Abbas Kouli Khan, there came people from Samarcand, who talked to me about the Turquoises and gold mines which the Ameer of Bokhara had near Samarcand. They also conversed about Tamerlane, as though he were dead but yesterday. I heard, also, that Ghengis Khan had a Jew from Germany as his Secretary. They preferred in general Tamerlane to Ghengis Khan, for they say of Ghengis Khan that he knew how to conquer a world—that he was a Jehaan-Geer, a world-taker; but Tamerlane was not only a Jehaan-Geer, but also a Jehaan-Dar, a world-holder.

To instance the kindness of Abbas Kouli Khan, I need small proof. The following letter will alone supply ample evidence of his kindly heart*. It is addressed to Lady Georgiana.

In the Name of the Highest!

I acquaint the exalted and virtuous lady, my kind and distinguished sister, the respected lady of the high in rank, the distinguished among the learned persons of the Christian Faith, the Reverend Joseph Wolff, that on my arrival at Bokhara, my distinguished friend was much grieved and his affairs were in a confused state. I brought him to my own place of residence, and I waited twice on His Highness the Ameer of Bokhara on his account, and I obtained permission for him to depart agreeably to the commands of His Majesty, my Sovereign, on whom the regard of

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* This letter was kindly translated into English by Mr. Thomson at Teheraun.

the universe is fixed,—may the whole world be his sacrifice,—and agreeably to the orders of His Excellency, &c. &c., my Lord the Haje, (Prime Minister of Persia,)—may his great shadow be increased,—that I should bring him along with me. His Highness the Ameer of Bokhara having had to undertake a two months' journey against Khokand, it was impossible for me to despatch him on his journey until the return of the Ameer. Again, a second Firman from His Majesty (the Shah) to the Ameer of Bokhara arrived, which I caused to be delivered in a suitable manner, and I did all that was incumbent on me in regard to the friendship subsisting between the two powerful Governments of Persia and England. I obtained leave for him to depart by one means or another. In eight days more, I shall bring him along with me in safety and health. Rest assured.

I have no ends in view or expectations in this. I did it in the service of my own Government, and on account of the friendship subsisting between the two Governments. I am the brother of my distinguished friend Joseph Wolff. I am also your brother, O virtuous Lady, and you are my sister. I have written these few words at the request of my brother, and I present my compliments.

Bokhara, 6th Rejjeb, 1260 (23rd July, 1844).

Soon after the King's departure for Khokand the Nayeb sent to me the two thousand tillahs which he had made me promise to take on with me to Teheraun, in order to deliver to Colonel Sheil, for the purpose of receiving twenty per cent. for the important services he had rendered to England; and which money, he gave me to understand, was a pledge to me that he was in earnest to procure speedily my release. The next day, however, he sent again for

the money without a written order, and said that Mango, the Hindoo merchant, might give me bills for them, or any Jewish merchant at Bokhara. I sent him word that he should first send me back my note, and at the same time a written order to whom I should deliver the money; to which the Nayeb gave me no reply. He then sent to me Mortesa, the Kafila Bashi from Heraut, giving me to understand that he (Abdul Samut Khan) had kept Mortesa on purpose here, in order that he might enable me to escape concealed in a large trunk, in case that the Ameer should not give me permission to depart.

At last, forty days after the time at which it was pretended that the messenger was sent to Balkh for Lord Ellenborough's letter, the letter, as they said, arrived from Balkh, which might have been back easily in six days from the time the alleged messenger went to Balkh. Abdul Samut Khan sent the letter for my inspection. The seal was broken in two, which the Nayeb said happened on the road by the messenger having fallen from his horse. After the letter had arrived, Abdul Samut Khan set out for Samarcand, to join the King, accompanied by two hundred disciplined troops, and four pieces of cannon. The day of his departure he sent to me Behadur, his servant, telling me that I ought to give Abdullah a present of one hundred tillahs, in order

that he might not commit Haramzadekee, *i. e.* rascality and treachery; I gave him, however, only twenty. Abdullah became worse and worse every day, and in the night time I observed that he tried to rob me of the money, in order, as I was afterwards assured of by trustworthy people, to hand it back to the Nayeb, and after this to murder me, either at Bokhara by poison, or on the road in any way he could; and he (Abdul Samut Khan) having my note of hand for it, would then have come upon the British Government for the money, so that he would have been twice paid, exactly as he did with Captain Conolly. For this reason, also, Mortesa, the Kafila Bashi, was detained at Bokhara. I, in order to rid myself of the burden, wished a respectable Jew at Bokhara to take the money, and give me a bill on Meshed; but Meshiakh, and Mullah Simha, and Pinehas, (these were the names of the Jews to whom I applied,) told me that they were acquainted with Abdul Samut Khan's conduct towards Conolly and Stoddart. Should that rascal, they said, find out that I had delivered the money into the hands of the Jews, he would force them, after my departure, to deliver the money over to him: they therefore declined accepting the money.

Two letters, by the hands of two different people, arrived from the brother of Conolly, addressed to

Conolly, wishing to know whether he and Stoddart were alive or dead. I opened the letters, gave several ducats to the bearers, and in order to induce them to depart quickly, I informed them that I had told the King that letters had reached me from India, which induced them to start immediately for Balkh and Cabūl.

What I suffered all the time of the King's absence I cannot describe. The good Abbas Kouli Khan sent me victuals constantly from his table, in order that I might not be poisoned by Abdullah. In the night time he took possession of the key of my room, in order that I might not be murdered, and kept his servant in my room to protect me, as I have mentioned. Every moment a spy from the King came to ask me what I did. The Jews, however, had the courage to come, and I advised them to come when the King's Makhrams were with me; when each of us looked in a Hebrew Bible, as if we were reading, and thus carried on our conversation in Hebrew in the presence of the Usbecks, who all the time believed that we were reading in the book by turn, whilst I learnt every particular of the conduct of the King and the Nayeb towards Stoddart and Conolly, particulars of the death of the latter, and of the licentious and tyrannical conduct of the King. Conversations not political we carried on in Persian.

At this period I wrote and sent from Bokhara the following letter:

To all the Monarchs of Europe.

Sires! Bokhara, 1844.

I set out for Bokhara to ransom the lives of two officers, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly; but both of them were murdered many months previous to my departure, and I do not know whether this blood of mine will not be spilt.

I do not supplicate for my own safety; but, Monarchs, two hundred thousand Persian slaves, many of them people of high talent, sigh in the kingdom of Bokhara. Endeavour to effect their liberation, and I shall rejoice in the grave that my blood has been thus the cause of the ransom of so many human beings. I am too much agitated, and too closely watched, to be able to say more.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

During the absence of the King a second letter arrived from His Majesty the King of Persia to the King of Bokhara, at the solicitation of Colonel Sheil, which letter was delivered to Abbas Kouli Khan; he immediately showed the letter to me. His Majesty the King of Persia had written: "The greatest friendship subsists between England and Persia; and therefore, if you do not send back Joseph Wolff with Abbas Kouli Khan, I shall become enraged with you."

At this period also I wrote the following letter to Captain Grover:

Dear Friend! Bokhara, June, 1844.

I have now been already two months in this place, and though five or six times the King has promised to send

me instantly to England, with one of his own ambassadors, I am in the greatest danger. I cannot stir out of the house without a guard of three men.

Dil Assa Khan, the fellow sent with me by the Assaff-ood-Dowla, has shamefully robbed, deceived, and outraged me. The Persian ambassador, Abbas Kouli Khan, is kind to me, but I think he will not have it in his power to rescue me. The Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, has extorted from me a writing to pay him five thousand tomauns to effect my liberation. I suspect that he was the cause of Stoddart and Conolly's death, in spite of his continued protestations of friendship.

Pray console my dear wife and child as much as you can. I love them dearly. The Ameer is now at Samarcand, and I am here awaiting the most fatal orders from the King daily to reach me. It is true that poor Stoddart openly professed Christianity after he had made a forced profession of Muhammedanism. Do for me what you can, *as far as the honour of England is not compromised.* All the inhabitants wish that either Russia or England should take the country.

Yours affectionately,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

P.S. Do not believe any reports of my speedy departure, for I am in great danger.

Forty or fifty days (for I lost all certainty of date) after the King's departure, the King and Abdul Samut Khan returned to Bokhara. My servant Abdullah, immediately, without asking leave of me, ran to the Nayeb, who sent me word by him, as also by Mirza Abdul Wahab, that the King had said, after he had perused Lord Ellenborough's letter: "Now it is proper that I should kill Joseph Wolff."

But I was informed by others who were present when the King had read the letter, that the Nayeb said to the King, "Now it is proper that Your Majesty should kill Joseph Wolff, as the Governor-General tries to frighten Your Majesty." A fortnight before the King's arrival, Abdul Samut Khan had written to me from the camp, that His Majesty had been well pleased with the letter, and had said that he would soon send me to my country. Abbas Kouli Khan, Dil Assa Khan, and myself, went to meet the King near the palace; he looked away from me. The crowd observed, "It will not go well with that Englishman."

In this hour of deep distress and despondency, I sent through Sir Charles Napier, *viâ* India, the following letter:

My dearest Wife and Child,

Never, never, never for a moment lose your love and obedience and faith in Jesus Christ; and pray for me, that I may remain faithful to Him in the hour of trial. Entreat the Churches in England to pray for me to our most blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Give my regards to all my friends.

Your most loving husband and father,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

I sent all letters from Bokhara open, even that to the Sovereigns of Europe; and this latter letter was forwarded by the King himself. Had they been able to read them, no doubt I should have died.

The day following, a mullah came, and asked me, in His Majesty's name, whether I would turn Mussulman. I replied, "Tell the King, NEVER—NEVER—NEVER!" He asked me, "Have you not a more polite answer for the King?" I said, "I beg you to tell His Majesty, that you asked me whether I had not a more polite answer for His Majesty, and I said, 'Decidedly not.'"

A few hours after the executioner came,—the same who had put to death Stoddart and Conolly,—and said, "Joseph Wolff, to thee it shall happen as it did to Stoddart and Conolly," and made a sign at my throat with his hand. I prepared for death, and carried opium about with me, that, in case my throat should be cut, I might not feel the pain. However, at last I cast away the opium, and prayed, and wrote in my Bible these words:

My dearest Georgiana and Henry,
I have loved both of you unto death.
Your affectionate husband and father,
Bokhara, 1844. J. WOLFF.

But that very same day, Abbas Kouli Khan sent word to the Ameer, that he had received a letter for His Majesty from Muhammed Shah. The Ameer sent word that Abbas Kouli Khan should send the letter by the Shekhawl; but Abbas Kouli Khan replied, that he had received orders from his court to deliver the letter in person. The Ameer sent

word again that he should send the letter, but Abbas Kouli Khan protested against it, when His Majesty at last consented to his coming to the palace. Abbas Kouli Khan delivered the letter to the Ameer; after having perused it he said, "Well, I make a present to you of Joseph Wolff; he may go with you."

CHAPTER XIX.

Ameer sends for the Servants of Abbas Kouli Khan and Dil Assa Khan, but omits Dr. Wolff's by mistake, to give them Robes of Honour. Interview with the Nayeb. Presents from the King. The Ameer tells Dr. Wolff to ask a Favour of him; Dr. Wolff declines doing so. Ameer determines to send an Ambassador to England. Vile Conduct of Abdul Samut Khan. Audience of leave to depart. Ameer commends the Conduct of Dr. Wolff; censures that of Stoddart and Conolly. Reception in Bokhara by the People. Murders committed by Abdul Samut Khan. First Plan by which the Ameer might be effectually checked in his Atrocities. Second Plan for same. English Honour requires some Notice to be taken of the Ameer's Conduct. Character of Ameer; brutal, lustful, tyrannical, but not so to the Poor; fond of Information; deeply affected at having put to death Stoddart and Conolly. Dr. Wolff prefers Ameer to Abdul Samut Khan. Description of Bokhara by Mr. Macgregor. Population of Khiva. Trade of those Countries. Russian Trade. Dignitaries of the State. Ecclesiastical Dignitaries.

The day after the presentation of the Shah's letter, the Ameer sent for Abbas Kouli Khan's and Dil Assa Khan's servants, to ask them the ordinary questions before the robes of honour are distributed, but he did not send for mine. Abbas Kouli Khan was frightened, and said, "Do not stir out of my room; if they want to detain you, I will defend you with my sword!" However, my servant was omitted by mere mistake, and soon sent after.

I then was ordered to go to the Nayeb by order of the King. The rascal told me shortly, "There are no Russian slaves for you; I give you one thou-

sand tillahs more, which you will deliver with the other two thousand, and three thousand tillahs you have to give me for my trouble, including a present of eight hundred tillahs to my son Abdullah Khan; and the two thousand two hundred tillahs I have spent for you among His Majesty's officers. You must therefore give me now a note of hand for six thousand tillahs.

W. Give me back my other notes of hand!

He did so, which I tore instantly to pieces.

Abdul S. Khan. Why do you tear them before you have written the other?

W. "I will write you now another." I wrote thus:

> In the garden of the infamous Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, surrounded by his banditti, and compelled by him, I write that he forced from me a note of hand for six thousand tillahs.
>
> JOSEPH WOLFF, *Prisoner.*

I desired him to give me back also my letter of his good services to me, that I might write another. This he would not do. Abbas Kouli Khan had sent his servant after me, afraid lest something might happen to me there. I therefore returned immediately to the Toora Khane. At last I was called down to the room of Abbas Kouli Khan, when ninety tillahs were given to me from the King, as a present; a horse with a silver saddle, and a shawl. Dil Assa

Khan received only forty-five tillahs, but neither shawl nor horse; and the Shekhawl then turned to Abbas Kouli Khan and said: "His Majesty had first intended to send an Ambassador with Joseph Wolff to England, but as he had brought no letters from the British Government, he has renounced this idea, especially as he goes with you; and you and he can explain to Muhammed Shah and in England the reason of the death of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly."

A few days after the presents of the King were delivered, suddenly a Makhram entered my room with a Persian Manuscript, called *Tawareekh Tabbaree*, as a present from the King to me; and His Majesty requested me to ask a favour. I replied, that His Majesty's bounty, especially in sending me away in such an honourable manner, was so great, that I had no other favour to ask. I only begged His Majesty to add his seal to the book, which he did, and then sent me word that he was, after all, determined to send Ameer Abool Kasem, his chief Makhram, as Ambassador with me to England. I replied, that His Majesty might do what he pleased, but as His Majesty sent one to Muhammed Shah, there was no necessity for it. The Ameer sent a Makhram to Abbas Kouli Khan, to ask what the necessary expense of an Ambassador to England might be. Abbas Kouli Khan, who wished to dissuade the

Ameer from this, replied, Two hundred thousand tillahs. However, the Ameer was determined now upon sending an Ambassador, for the assassin Abdul Samut Khan had told him that if he did not send an Ambassador with me, Abbas Kouli Khan would have the credit of having effected my release, and, beside this, he (Abdul Samut Khan) had borrowed for me from merchants three thousand tillahs, with which I might easily defray the expense of an Ambassador to England, whilst at the same time he made my servant Abdullah, Mortesa, Abbas, and others, promise to poison the Ambassador on the road, for he well knew that on his return the Ambassador would expose his villany from my information, and the authority of my Government possibly, if his credentials were received.

Abbas Kouli Khan and myself were then called up to the Ameer. I was allowed to ride on horseback with Abbas Kouli Khan through the gates, whilst Dil Assa Khan was ordered to remain behind. We appeared before the King. He said to me: "I send with you Ameer Abool Kasem, to accompany you to England. Stoddart and Conolly excited Khokand and Organtsh to war, and therefore were put to death. You, Joseph Wolff, proved yourself to be a man of understanding and knowledge, and therefore I treated you with honour."

W. Europeans frequently come to a country

without knowing the customs of it, and make, therefore, mistakes which they do not intend."

We then left Bokhara the day following, amidst thousands of congratulating inhabitants, who called my liberation "A new birth!" I succeeded in taking with me four slaves; but Abbas Kouli Khan bought with his own money twenty slaves, whom he ransomed, and took with him one thousand of those who had previously bought their liberty.

The following people have been killed at Bokhara, at the instigation of Abdul Samut Khan:

1. Youssuf Khan, from Scio.
2. Colonel Stoddart.
3. Captain Conolly.
4. A Türkomaun from Merwe, sent to Bokhara to assist in the escape of Colonel Stoddart.
5. Ephraim, a Jew from Meshed, who brought letters for Conolly.
6. An Englishman, who passed by the name of Hatta.
7. Captain Wyburd.
8. Five Englishmen, executed outside the town of Jehaar-Joo.
9. Naselli.

The Grand Cazi, his servant Molam Beyk, Mahsom, Khoja Saheb from Cashmeer, Ushur Beyk, Saadat, several merchants from Persia, and Abdul Samut Khan's own servants, accuse him as the murderer; nor does he deny the perpetration of these atrocities himself.

Haje Ismael, a merchant, left Bokhara with me. He had been long in Yarkand and Kashgar. He told me that several Englishmen had arrived at Yarkand, who escaped from the disaster at Cabūl. They were well treated, but not allowed to leave the place. If the Ameer had permitted me to proceed *vid* Yarkand and Russia, I certainly would have taken that road. Haje Ismael also informed me that they have at Kashgar, Yarkand, and throughout Chinese Tartary, beacons of fire, by which they are informed of the departure and approach of caravans from an immense distance.

The question may here, after the detail of these atrocities, be asked, Is there no way of punishing the King of Bokhara, and ought it to be done, and what advantages may accrue from punishing him, and what disadvantages from not punishing him?

Now first, Is there no way of punishing him? There are several ways of punishing him, and this most surely. The first, and the most straightforward, would be by sending an army from Sinde through Candahar, and from Candahar through Maymona, to Bokhara. On that road there would be villages upon villages, and provisions and water enough, and in order to induce Kohandel Khan, the Ameer of Candahar, not to lay any hindrance in the way, they should allow him to take possession of

Ankhoy, which place is governed by a Khan, but one who is tributary to the King of Bokhara, a robber and slave-maker; and Kohandel Khan ought to be made to promise to the British army, that after his taking Ankhoy, he would give liberty to the Persian slaves residing at Ankhoy. Dost Muhammed Khan ought to be allowed to send an army to Khoolom and Balkh, whilst all the time the British army should march from Ankhoy to Karkee, where they must cross the Oxus, for which reason they ought to take a good deal of timber with them, in order to be able to make a flying bridge. A few shots of artillery from the part of the English army will put to flight the whole host of Usbecks. Having once crossed the Oxus, they should issue proclamations to all the inhabitants of Bokhara, saying that nothing should be done to them in case they delivered up, alive or dead, the Ameer of Bokhara, and his Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, which I am sure would be instantly done. The British army then should proclaim the Ameer's son the rightful successor to the throne, which would pacify the whole nation; but the Persian slaves, two hundred thousand in number, ought to be made free, which would give popularity to the English nation all over Persia, Khokand, Tashkand, and Yarkand. The name of Sir Charles Napier, Governor of Sinde, which has already struck terror all over Affghanistaun, Beloochistaun,

Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand, would supply twenty thousand men; for he is called now at Bokhara, the Rustam of Dowlat, which means the Giant of England.

The other plan of marching towards Bokhara will be to allow Persia to take permanent possession of Sarakhs and Mowr, and thus for ever put a stop to the depredations of the Türkomauns of Mowr, and also to take Jehaar-Joo, a frontier city of Bokhara this side of the Oxus; and then allow them to march towards Bokhara in order to liberate the Persian slaves there, but on condition that the Persian army should evacuate Bokhara after having taken prisoner the Ameer, his Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, and placed on the throne the Ameer's son. It should march back by Maymona and Ankhoy, in order to liberate the slaves there, and thus return triumphantly to Persia, enriched by thousands of Persian subjects, and the additional possession of Mowr and Jehaar-Joo. In order that the expedition of the Persian army might be crowned with success, and that, at the same time, the inhabitants of Bokhara and all the countries around should be convinced that that expedition was undertaken at the instigation of the British Government, some regiments of British soldiers ought to be sent with it. The advantage of punishing the King of Bokhara, either from the side of Sinde, or with the assistance

of Persia, would be this: First, that such an occurrence as the murder of two British Officers would not be repeated, either at Bokhara, or in any other adjacent countries; and European travellers might then with more ease go there and pursue their researches in those interesting countries; and the light of the Gospel might then with more ease be spread all over Bokhara, Khokand, &c.; and Persian slaves at Bokhara, with those of Ankhoy and Maymona included, amounting in the whole to the number of two hundred and fifty thousand, be set at liberty; and the name of Englishmen would be blessed even by the Usbecks themselves, for having delivered them from the hands of two bloodthirsty tyrants, the Ameer, and his Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan. Should England, however, not take any further notice of the atrocious murder committed by the Ameer at the instigation of the Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, our country will lose all the moral influence it now possesses in these countries; and Khiva and Khokand, where such a crime has not yet been committed, may follow the example of their enemy the Ameer of Bokhara, in order to show that they can do so with the same impunity, and England will fall into contempt even in Persia.

I have here also to observe, that on my arrival at Bokhara, I immediately asked what had become of Hassan Baba, the man sent by the Assaff-ood-Dowla,

at the request of Colonel Sheil, who was a Mervee. To my great astonishment, I learned that though he had arrived two months before my arrival at Bokhara, he never had seen the Ameer, and though he had delivered the letter and present of the Assaff-ood-Dowla, His Majesty never deigned to give him any answer whatever. This shows still further the necessity for controlling him. I shall take this opportunity of saying a few words on the character of the Ameer.

My readers may ask what I think about the character of the Ameer. There can be no doubt that he is tyrannical and cruel; witness the deaths of his five brothers, and the many murdered Makhrams who refused to pander to his passions. Muhammed Ali Khan, King of Khokand, was not only murdered by him, but also his pregnant wife was not only killed, but the living child severed from her womb was cut to pieces. His profligacy is universally spoken of; his disposition is not only suspicious, but variable; but at the same time we must not forget some good points.

He does not tyrannize over his poor subjects, who pass by the name of Fukarra, but protects them powerfully against the tyranny of the Serkerdeha, and is therefore liked by the commons, and detested by the nobility. He is not fond of money, and hates bribery in the extreme; affects to take Timur as his

pattern, and has therefore a similar motto for his seal, *i. e.* Hakan Adalat—"Truth and Equity."

His desire for information is unbounded, and he therefore puts to strangers question after question, and if he were not in the hands of Abdul Samut Khan he might yet become another Muhammed Ali; and with this advantage over the Pasha of Egypt, that he would have contrived to make the poor happy, of which Muhammed Ali has no idea. I must repeat, that it was a great mistake of the British Government not to have allowed his Ambassador to come here. Even the Russian Ambassador told me that his Government would not have anything to do with the King of Bokhara until the Ameer had sent an Ambassador to England apologizing for his conduct. He gets soon incensed, and when he is angry the blood comes into his face, and creates convulsive action of the muscles; and in such fits he gives the most outrageous orders, reckless of consequences. He has put down by the simple word Hookum, *i. e.* Order, the most ancient customs, and has overthrown the power of the mullahs utterly. He delights to hear that people tremble at his name, and laughs with violence when he hears of their apprehensions. He is jealous of Muhammed Ali, in Egypt, and says that his country will never equal Bokhara. He expressed no contempt for England, but was exceedingly anxious to become reconciled to

it; but the continual suspicions infused into his mind, made him hesitate dismissing me,—suspicions engrafted there by those who well knew this weak point of his nature; and, as the Kazi Kelaun assured me, he more than once had exclaimed, "The wounds of my heart for having slain those English people will never heal."

And I must now declare, that I prefer him, in spite of his faults, to the base Abdul Samut Khan; and Colonel Sheil, knowing that Abdul Samut Khan was in India, ought to have asked of Sir Claude Martin Wade, who is well acquainted with Abdul Samut Khan's character, what kind of a man he was. I am now in England, and enabled to reflect on subjects more maturely than at the time when I was surrounded with dangers and suffering from illness; and I must say that I cannot understand why Colonel Sheil refused to give me a letter for the King of Bokhara, whilst he gave me two letters of introduction, the one for Haje Ibrahim, Abdul Samut Khan's brother, a most consummate villain, and another for Abdul Samut Khan himself.

Let us now look a little at another point—the commerce between these countries and Russia. The following statement of Mr. Mc Gregor, the Secretary to the Board of Trade, is highly valuable, subject however to some very important corrections:

The trade of Russia with Khiva and Bokhara appears to be growing into importance, chiefly from Nijnei-Novogorod, and through the town of Orenburg, on the river Aral. This town is admirably situated for trade with the Kirghises, and with Khiva and Bokhara, although a part of the Russian trade with the countries east of the Caspian is carried on from Astrakan across that sea, and to some extent through Persia. Orenburg, which has a population estimated at nineteen thousand inhabitants, is situated on the north bank of the Aral. This long tortuous river, with the mountain range of the same name, forms a boundary between European Russia and Asia. It is shallow, and of little advantage for navigable purposes, but it abounds with fish. The town of Orenburg is regularly built and fortified. The trade of the town is chiefly carried on at Bazaars, on the south or Asiatic side of the river.

In 1833 there arrived, according to Schnitzler, fourteen caravans of two thousand five hundred and forty-seven camels, exclusive of horses; and thirteen caravans of four thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine camels, and two hundred and sixty-four horses departed, laden with goods, for various parts of Asia, chiefly for the country of the Kirghises, for Khiva, and for Bokhara.

The Khanat of Khiva, which now comprises a vast region along the Caspian from Persia, north to the Kirghises Tartar country, and east to the Oxus and the Lake Ural, has only, according to Burnes, a population not exceeding two hundred thousand inhabitants. He describes them as organized bandits; and, according to other authors, they are not generally better than predatory savages. It is agricultural where the ground is sufficiently fertile for cultivation. There are few horned cattle; sheep, goats, and horses are numerous, and all these are used as, and considered the chief food of the inhabitants. There are few manufactures, except some coarse cottons and silk stuffs made by the women. Camels are

chiefly used as beasts of burden, and caravans of these proceed annually for Russian merchandise to Orenburg, Astrakan, and Karaghan, on the east coast of the Caspian, and others go south to Cabūl and Persia. This trade is conducted by the Turkomauns, Khivans, and Persians. The Khan, who is chief of the Usbeks, or dominant races, levies duties on goods entering or passing through the Khanat; and especially at the ports or landing-places of Mangasluk and Karaghan, where boats with goods arrive from Astrakan. The capital of Khiva is a town of mud huts, with three stone mosques, and a mud palace. Its chief trade is in slaves, of whom there are about forty thousand in the Khanat, and it is said there are many captured Russians who are slaves in Khiva.

The Khanat of Khokan bounds closely on Russia. This mountainous region produces silk and cotton, and various grains, coals, and iron abound. Agriculture, pasturage, and rearing silk-worms, and mounting cottons, and embroidered silks. Russian goods find their way, to a considerable amount, to Khokan, the capital. It is said that this town has a population of one hundred and fifty thousand. It is, like Khiva, built of mud, with the exception of three stone bazaars. Russian caravans from the Siberian towns of Semipolatinsk on the banks of the Irtish, and from Petroparstok on the Ichim, are said to pass also through Khokan to the frontiers of China, with Russian merchandise. Mussulmans pay a duty of two and a half per cent. on goods imported, and other importers five per cent.

The Khanat of Bokhara, or the country of the Uzbec Tartars, comprises about two hundred and thirty thousand square miles of Central Asia, and Burnes estimates its population at one million of inhabitants. Other authorities estimate the Uzbecs alone at one million five hundred thousand, and the other races at nearly one million. Many portions of this region are remarkably fertile, and agri-

culture is the principal source of occupation and subsistence. Wheat, barley, rice, maize, beans, melons, are all grown, with several other kinds of grain, vegetables, and fruits, sheep and goats; the latter yield the fine hair or wool scarcely inferior to Cashmeer—the former the jet-black woolly skins used for Persian caps, &c.; about two hundred thousand skins are annually exported. Mutton is the chief animal food. Horses and oxen are reared; the flesh of the latter is only eaten by the poor. The manufacturing industry is unimportant; some embroidery, silk stuffs, shagreen, sabres, fire-arms, and articles of various metals, and leather, are among the limited quantity of fabrics made. The capital, Bokhara, is described by Burnes as a town containing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. It has massive buildings, three hundred and sixty mosques, three hundred schools, the Khan's palace, or rather fortress; houses built of bricks dried in the sun; very narrow and dirty streets; lofty arched bazaars, in which the different trades have their distinct sections; and ponds and fountains for the supply of water. The slave and gem markets are open only twice a week; all others are open daily. Fruits and jellies of all kinds abound in the market, and plenty of ice is to be had during the hottest weather. Tea is the favourite beverage. There are numerous large baths. This mart, which is to Central Africa the great entrepôt, is described as presenting unceasing activity and noise. The caravans from and to Russia travel by the following routes, viz.: by the route of Khiva, to the shores of and across the Caspian, from and to Astrakan; by the route to and from Orenburg, by land, in sixty days, through Orghenje in Khiva; to and from Trodiska, in Tobolsk, by the route east of the lake Aral, in forty-nine days; and to and from Petroparstok, in ninety days. Of the whole number, two thousand, which leave India annually, about one thousand camels reach Bokhara with Oriental goods; the remaining

thousand stop in Affghanistaun, Cabūl, or diverge west into Persia*.

The population of Khiva is at least six hundred thousand. Included in this number are forty thousand Persians, including Kaffir Seeah-Poosh. The Russian slaves, who caused the war with Russia and Khiva, and which amounted to two hundred, have been sent to Russia by the advice of Sir R. Shakespeare. Mr. Abbot, who preceded him, was foolish enough to advise the King of Khiva not to give up the Russian slaves until he had treated with the Russian Emperor, but Shakespeare was wise enough to advise their immediate cession. The Khan of Khiva is, as I think I have observed already, very anxious to make a strict alliance with England, and it seems that England encourages him, but, to speak the truth, it is not of the least use; for though the Khan of Khiva has, *perhaps*, not yet killed any Englishmen, I am sure that he is equally disposed, or rather more so, than the King of Bokhara. From all that I have heard of the Khan of Khiva, he is a horrid brute, and the atrocities committed by the Khan of Khiva exceed those of the King of Bokhara, and they are too horrid to be described. I say, studiously, *perhaps* he has not killed any Englishman, for I am not at all certain that he has not killed

* *Commercial Statistics*, Vol. II., p. 637.

several. For I have it on good authority that he has strangled several Europeans. But Colonel Sheil, to whom I mentioned the fact, told me that those Europeans, though Germans by birth, were Russian spies.

Besides that, what can England expect from the King of Khiva? Bokhara and Khiva are like the Barbary States—slave-making states—and ought to be put down; and if England were to make an alliance with Khiva, Persia and Russia would be her enemies. The population of the city of Khokand is three hundred thousand, and the entire population is three millions. From the best sources, viz., the Kazi Kelaun, the Tatshick merchants, and other mullahs, we know that the population of the kingdom of Bokhara is one million two hundred thousand, of whom two hundred thousand are Persian slaves. The capital contains one hundred and eighty thousand. Horse-flesh is considered a delicacy; I received it repeatedly from the King's table, and the King eats it himself. The manner of drinking tea in the Mogul fashion, is with milk, salt, grease, and cinnamon.

The town of Bokhara is situated one day's journey to the north of the river Jehoon or Amoo; Ghengis Khan besieged it in 1219, and took it in 1220. Thousands of Jews emigrated at that time to China. The houses are mostly built of mud. The chief places for trade in the kingdom are Bokhara, Kar-

shee, Karakol, Samarcand, and Karkee. There are immense numbers of shops, in which chiefly Russian goods are sold, full three hundred merchants, from Chicarpore, in Scinde, and other parts of Hindūstaun; but the chief trade is carried on with Russia. Mighty caravans arrive from and go to Orenbourg and Siberia, transported by the Kirghese.

It is very remarkable that the Prophet Ezekiel, in the twenty-seventh chapter, fourteenth verse, gives an exact description of the trade carried on by the Tūrkomauns with the inhabitants of Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand. The Prophet says: "They of the house of Togarmah (*i. e.* the Tūrkomauns) traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen, and mules." The Tūrkomauns to this day, like the Swiss Guards, are mercenaries, and let themselves out for a few tengas a day. It is also remarkable, that I frequently heard the Tūrkomauns call themselves Toghramah, and the Jews call them Togarmah.

Viewing the hosts of camels coming with merchandise from Cashmeer, Cabūl, Khokand, Khetay, and Orenbourg, the passage of Isaiah lx. 6, comes forcibly on the mind, where the Prophet says: "The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense." Mentioning gold, I must not forget, that near Samarcand there are gold mines and turquoises. And the King

of Bokhara wanted to know whether there are turquoises to be found in England.

The articles which are brought from Bokhara to Russia are dry fruit, silks, indigo, and caps. The articles brought from Russia, calicoes, muslins, &c. The merchants from Bokhara transport also to Russia goods from Khokand, Tashkand, Khokand, and Türkistaun.

Among the chief dignitaries of the state may be numbered:

The *Goosh-Bekee*, or Keeper of the Seal; this situation is now vacant, since the late Goosh-Bekee, an excellent man, was killed by order of the present Ameer, though he was chiefly indebted to him, as we have shown, for his accession to the throne. He was not only the Vizier, but also the Chief of the Custom-house; but this situation is now vested in the Dastarkhanjee, who carries a gold hatchet, and brings the victuals to the King. The person who occupies at present this situation is a man of the most licentious character.

Shekhawl, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Moonshee Bashi, Chief Secretary of State.

Makhrams, Chamberlains, who are not only the spies, but also the ruffians of the King. They came almost every day swaggering into my room, accompanied by a Mirza (Secretary), telling me, in an authoritative and vulgar overbearing manner, "Hasrat (His Majesty) wants several questions to be answered by you!"

The dignitaries of the Muhammedan religion:

1. *Sheikh al-Islam*, Chief of the Ulemas.
2. *Nakeeb*, who decides the disputes between the soldiers.

3. *Kazi-Kelaun*, who settles the disputes between the Fukarra, *i. e.* subjects.

4. *Reis*, Minister of Public Worship—Superintendent of the Morals of the place; he does not allow smoking, and gets people bastinadoed if they neglect going to the mosque.

5. *Meer Shab*, Director of the Night, who announces, with a sound resembling a loud drum, that people are not allowed to stir about in the night time.

These are the chief authorities; beside others, as in different Muhammedan countries.

CHAPTER XX.

Departure from Bokhara. Dr. Wolff discovers a Plot to kill and rob him, *en route*. Thousands attend to witness their Departure. Dr. Wolff refuses to separate from Abbas Kouli Khan. Arrival at Jesman-Doo. Vile Conduct of Muhammed Taki. Abbas Kouli Khan expresses his Displeasure. Derveesh of Yarkand; Conversation with him. Affghaun Seyd; Conversation with him. The Calmucks; their singular Conduct. Remarkable fine sense of Smelling and Hearing in Türkomauns. Appearance of Usbecks. Conversation with Abbas Kouli Khan; he thinks Abdul Samut Khan was the Murderer of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Visit from a Mullah; his Account of Timur. Shahr Sabz. *Route*—Jesman-Doo; Shahr Islam. History of Afrasiab. Reports of Guzl-Bash about the English. Mortesa and Abdullah advise Dr. Wolff to leave Abbas Kouli Khan; he refuses. Peikand. Karakol. The Governor of Karakol warns Dr. Wolff that a Plot is laid to take away his life. Hussein. *Route*—Allat. The Caravan lose their way. An attempt made by Ismael and Mortesa to seize Dr. Wolff; he calls on the Merchants of the Caravan to protect him. Sayen. Dr. Wolff wishes to throw away the Money in the Desert; Abbas Kouli Khan takes it in his keeping.

We set out from Bokhara on the 3rd of August, and arrived one farsagh from Bokhara, at the village called Jesman-Doo, where we halted for a time in a garden on the border of a tank. The party consisted of Abbas Kouli Khan; Dil Assa Khan; Ameer Sarog; Kaher Kouli; Sabhan Ullah Beyk, Ambassador of the King of Bokhara to the King of Persia; Ameer Abool Kasem, Ambassador to Queen Victoria; Haje Ismael, from Yarkand; four Persian slaves, whom I caused to escape; one thousand slaves,

who had bought their liberty; the murderers hired by Abdul Samut Khan; merchants from Cabūl; derveeshes and fakeers from Hindūstaun; Mirza Abdul Wahab, who painted for me portraits when at Bokhara, and who wrote a narrative of my sufferings; in all full two thousand camels.

Previous to quitting Bokhara, I discovered that the Nayeb had agreed with Abdullah, Dil Assa Khan, Ismael Khan, Mortesa, Ameer Sarog, and Kaher Kouli, that they should kill me, and take from me the three thousand tillahs, as he thought he could get with ease the six thousand tillahs by presenting my note of hand to Colonel Sheil; and beside this, the three thousand tillahs of interest at twenty per cent. which he gave Conolly, and which he took back after his death. I was informed of this plot by the Jews, Mullahs Meshiakh, Pinehas, and Simkha, by the servants of the Grand Kazi, and even those of the Nayeb. Abdullah confessed it at Meshed, and Abbas Kouli Khan had received similar information.

On our leaving Bokhara, thousands of people came forth, Jews and Usbecks, Tūrkomauns and Persians, and the streets resounded with the exclamation, "God preserve the Ameer that he has sent you away." A veiled woman stood in the street; she wept, and exclaimed, "What joy your wife will have! how will she sing you have been

born again! Such a favour has not been shown for a long time by the Padishah."

The conspirators, Mortesa and Abdullah, tried to persuade me to separate from Abbas Kouli Khan, but I refused. I said, "I know your villany; I shall always ride in the train of Abbas Kouli Khan."

We thus proceeded, by order of the King, to Jesman-Doo. Muhammed Taki, the astrologer from Heraut, who came with Abbas Kouli Khan from Persia, for the purpose of getting, by the Shah's influence with the Ameer, his wife, who had been made a slave of by the Tūrkomauns, both recovered her, and, besides this, received one hundred ducats from the Ameer. When he came to the garden of Jesman-Doo, to our surprise, without his wife, Abbas Kouli Khan asked him, "Where is your wife?" He replied, "I have looked in the stars for two or three nights successively, and seen one star with a black tail, from which I perceived that misery is *entailed* upon her, and therefore I have resold her for forty ducats and a beautiful high-bosomed slave girl, only seventeen." I never saw in my life a man so incensed as Abbas Kouli Khan. He rose from the ground, cast away his galyoon with such violence that it broke to pieces, and said, "God burn you and your stars. You rascal, you did not look on the stars, but on the money and the beauty of the young

girl. I spit in your beard." The astrologer went out quite mortified.

Soon after, a derveesh of Yarkand entered the garden. He was of that class of derveeshes called the Bektash, who pretend to have attained to such a degree of knowledge that no divine revelation is of any use to them, nor any book. He asked me, "How do you prove the necessity of religion?" I replied, that all nations were forced to confess that religion is the only support to our weak nature, and that knowledge which has only for its object terrestrial things is unworthy of the name of knowledge. But in order to arrive at a knowledge of heavenly things, a heavenly mind is required. There is a spiritual sense in the heart, which I call a revelation of God to the heart, and therefore God will disappear from those who seek Him only with their intellect. This is the case with you Bektash, and many European philosophers. The revelations of God, as laid down in our sacred books, may be considered as wings by which men are able to soar up to heaven. Only by a steady looking on divine revelation, is human nature able to progress towards heaven. Nothing is so terrible and awful to man as when God disappears from human reason; I mean, when we seek truth, independent of its Author.

An Affghaun Seyd entered the garden, and said, "Aye, you Kafir! have you succeeded in cheating

the Ameer, so that he let you go? If he had only given you into my hands, I would soon have made away with you by my javelin." Abbas Kouli Khan said to him, "Go, and leave the Frankee alone; he is a derveesh." "A derveesh!" he sneeringly replied, "I know these Frankee derveeshes—I know these English derveeshes. They go into a country, spy out mountains and valleys, seas and rivers; find out a convenient adit, and then go home; inform a gentleman there—a chief, who has the name of *Company*, who sends soldiers, and then takes a country; tell him what I say." After this he left the garden.

Some Calmucks, also, purposely called on me. They are also called the Eliad. They said, "We come to see the renowned Frankee derveesh." They are of a yellow colour; they sate down, looked at me, and made remarks on every movement of my body, which amused Abbas Kouli Khan so much, that he laughed incessantly. After they had examined me from head to foot, he advised me to allow them to pursue still closer investigations, which I declined.

Like the Hazārah, they have scarcely any beard. At last, one of them turned to a Jew, and asked him, in a low tone, to give him brandy and wine. They addressed me in Russian. I told them, in Persian, that I did not understand Russian, and asked them

where they had learned it. They replied, "From the Nogay Tatars." Then they began: "Have you heard of Nicholas Pawlowitch? he is the greatest Krawl Russia has ever enjoyed." They asked me whether we had many slaves in England. I told them that slavery was prohibited.

My rascally servant, Abdullah, expressed a wish to go from Jesman-Doo again to see Abdul Samut Khan, but Abbas Kouli Khan prevented him.

An extraordinary power of smelling in a Tūrkomaun, Khan Saat from Sarakhs, was indicated to me here. He said, drawing up his nostrils, "I smell a caravan of Usbecks;" and in a few hours a caravan from Organtsh arrived full of them. It is remarkable how the Tūrkomauns know, by the footsteps in the desert, the person who has been there, nay, the very tribe of Tūrkomauns that has passed. When Tūrkomauns or Calmucks saw people talking from a distance, I frequently heard them say, "Let us draw our ears." They then lie down on the ground, and hear from a distance what even two persons whisper together, and relate the exact conversation.

Another party of derveeshes came to me and observed, "The time will come when there shall be no difference between rich and poor, between high and low, when property shall be in common, even wives and children."

Suddenly we were alarmed by Usbecks coming

in great consternation. I was afraid that an order had been issued to fetch me back by the Ameer, but they reported that news had arrived from Tsheesakh, a city beyond Samarcand, that Sheer Ali Khan, the present King of Khokand, had made an alliance with the Girghese and Kasaks, and had even invited the Russians to come through Khokand, and Sheer Ali Khan was seriously contemplating a march against Bokhara to avenge the death of Muhammed Ali Khan. Abbas Kouli Khan, my friend, spoke to me at Jesman-Doo about the villany of Abdul Samut Khan, and said that there was not the least shadow of doubt that Abdul Samut Khan was the murderer of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, and other Europeans; but he, Abbas Kouli Khan, should be sorry if Abdul Samut Khan were put to death by the Ameer, for he might, after all, be of service one day, to Persia, on a contemplated attack on the part of Persia on Bokhara; for, as Abbas Kouli Khan expressed himself, "A fellow like Abdul Samut Khan, (may his father be burned!) is capable of turning against the Ameer when he sees it will be to his advantage, and of putting him to death with as much facility as he did Stoddart and Conolly."

We then had a visit of a mullah from Bokhara, who asked me whether Timur was much spoken of in England. I replied in the affirmative. He then asked me whether they knew of his daughter Aga-

beyk, and of his sister Toorkan-Khatoon, and his only son Jehaungeer. The death of these people, he said, made Timur weep, who had a heart of iron, and never wept before. They are buried at Shahr Sabz." Thus far the mullah.

I then got the following information about Shahr Sabz. It is a central city of Bokhara, but separated from the King, independent, and governed by its own Khan. The reason of it is this: 1st. The people of Shahr Sabz are by far better and more courageous horsemen than the people of Bokhara. 2nd. They can put in a moment the whole town under water, so that troops cannot reach them. 3rd. It serves for the people of Bokhara as an asylum from the tyranny of the Ameer; and therefore the people of Bokhara do not wish to take it. The Khan of Shahr Sabz, however, for form's sake, sent to the Ameer one thousand horsemen, as a subsidy in his war against Khiva and Khokand, but they were always ordered by the Khan of Shahr Sabz not to give him the least assistance in reality.

From Jesman-Doo we proceeded to Shahr-Islam, the city of Afrasiab.

As the name of Afrasiab is not familiar to the generality of English readers, nay, does not meet even with insertion in very extensive biographical works, we shall subjoin the following particulars of that Sovereign. He was the ninth King of the

Peshdadian dynasty of Persia. He was by birth a Tūrkomaun. He descended from Feridun, who had a rebellious son, named Tur, and sought, like Absalom of old, with whom some think he was contemporary, the kingdom of his father. Frustrated in in his plots against his father, he fled to Tatary, where he became a King. Tur had a son, named Peshang, from whom (though this point is not quite clear) Afrasiab descended. Ancient Persian authors make him out a descendant, in some way, from this Tur, who died in battle against the Persian Monarch, Minuchihr, the direct descendant in the male branch from Feridun. The incursions of Afrasiab and his Tatars during the reign of Peshang, compelled the Persian King Minuchihr, to sue for peace, which was granted, the Oxus being the boundary of the two Empires. Minuchihr was succeeded by Naudar, an unpopular Sovereign, against whom Afrasiab waged successful war. Afrasiab avenged on him his grandsire's wrong, or what he supposed such; and Afrasiab killed with his own hand the Persian King Naudar. Afrasiab became King of Persia, and ruled it, like Timur, with a rod of iron. The hero, Zal, the glory of Persia, rose against the tyrant; he defeated Afrasiab, refused the proffered throne himself, and raised the legitimate branch to its lost seat. Afrasiab strove undaunted to recover Persia during various reigns; but at length a Persian

King arose strong enough to carry the war home to the Tūrkomaun himself. Kai Khosro, after a severe battle, seized on the palace of Afrasiab, ultimately on the Tūrkomaun Chief himself, and put him to death. Afrasiab's name being the most famous of an olden dynasty, represents anything very aged in Persian annals. Afrasiab has been thought of as high an antiquity as even the King of the Deeves and Afrits, Solomon himself. We ought to except from the above censure the *Biographical Dictionary* published by Messrs. Longman; and we can refer our readers for further particulars to Ferdousi, and Sir John Malcolm's work on Persia.

At Shahr-Islam, people from Cabūl crowded around me; they were mostly Guzl-Bash. They said that the English had made themselves enemies by various things. 1st. That they did not protect the Guzl-Bash. 2nd. That they offended Nawaub Jabar Khan, brother to Dost Muhammed Khan, their friend; and 3rd, as I have already stated, by the customs they introduced.

Morteza and Abdullah, the conspirators against my life, came up to me, and said, that the bustle on leaving Bokhara was so great, that I should do better to quit Abbas Kouli Khan, and pitch my tent at a considerable distance from him; and, besides that, that as an English Eljee (for thus they call all the English), I was a greater man than either

Abbas Kouli Khan or any one else of the caravan, and therefore I should keep aloof from them. I told them, "I know your villany; you have not to prescribe to me where I am to pitch my tent. I shall ride with Abbas Kouli Khan."

At Shahr-Islam I observed that the trunks in which the three thousand tillahs lay were somewhat broken. After passing Peikand, therefore, and arriving at Karakol, I bought strong cloth, and Mirza Abdul Wahab, the Persian who painted for me the pictures, and whose description of my sufferings is in the Appendix, and also Haje Ismael from Yarkand, assisted me in folding them up carefully. And in order that I might not be obliged to trust the trunks to Morteza, the Chief of the Kafila (caravan), I bought a mule at Karakol, in order that I might have the money always under my own eyes. We stopped at Karakol two days, in the house of Shaker Beyk—a house which belonged to the King. Hussein Khan, the Governor of Karakol, had sent a confidential servant to me, through whom he apologized for not waiting on me; though, as he expressed himself, "his heart and soul was bound up with my heart and soul thirteen years ago at Karakol." He informed me that I was, on my route to Meshed, in as great danger as at Bokhara; for Abdul Samut Khan, ever thirsting for blood, and the greatest scourge which Bokhara had ever seen, had hired

assassins to put me to death in the desert; and these assassins were my servant Abdullah, Morteza, the Kafila Bashi, Ibrahim Abbas, Dil Assa Khan, Ismael, Rahim Beyk, and others. He advised me, therefore, to employ the four Persian slaves who had succeeded in leaving Bokhara with me, with which fact he was acquainted, as they acknowleged it to him, as sentinels against the murderers; and also, that I should not quit Abbas Kouli Khan's side. I must here observe, that I had committed at Bokhara a great mistake, by dismissing Hussein, for though a great rogue, he had still a species of affection for me, since he had accompanied me from Meshed to Cabūl in the year 1832, and was a check on Abdullah, who was a perfect concentration of all the rascality of the East, —always drunk with opium, and intriguing; from which latter defect Hussein was not wholly free, of which point I give the following illustration. There are scorpions at Bokhara, and a person who lived near me at Bokhara was stung by one of them. Hussein pretended to cure diseases by saying *Duas* (*charms*), and was called in to the case,—I do not know with what success; but immediately after he had said his *Dua*, he went to the mosque, and intrigued with a woman, for which he got a tremendous thrashing.

On my arrival at Allat, I observed that Ameer Sarog, Abdullah, and the rest of the hired assassins,

were around my mule when we had pitched our tent. The day following, when I wanted to load it with my trunks, I found that it was lame. I therefore informed Abbas Kouli Khan of this circumstance. He ordered that the mule should in future be dragged on with his mules, and that during the night time my trunks should be watched by one of his servants placed at my disposal. Haje Ismael, of Yarkand, perceiving the design of the villains, slept in my tent. The four slaves whom I saved watched them; Abdullah and Morteza therefore began to quarrel with both Abbas Kouli Khan's servant and Haje Ismael.

We marched then towards Jehaar-Joo. It was night. The whole of the caravan lost their way. Abbas Kouli Khan, who most kindly held the ropes of my horse, in order not to lose sight of me, consigned me to the care of his brother, Nujuf Kouli Khan, in order that he himself might look out for the road. Then Ismael and Morteza tried to push him away, when I loudly exclaimed in Persian, "Will you commit treachery?" This exclamation made the principal persons of the caravan rally round me. I pointed out to them Ismael and Morteza, who then retired. Towards daylight, Abdullah came up to me, and said to Nujuf Kouli Khan and myself, that Abbas Kouli Khan had ordered that I should remain behind and await his return. We observed, that

his was a lie. We traced the footsteps of Abbas Kouli Khan's horse, and soon found him. He was anxiously expecting me. Abdullah then began to sell the greater part of my victuals to the ransomed slaves. We arrived then at Sayen, and stopped in the house of an Ak-Sakal, "Lord of the Beard," a chief. Abbas Kouli Khan sent me victuals of his own, for he heard himself that the assassins intended to poison me. It must be observed here, that at Sayen, the mighty conqueror, Hullakoo Khan, whose name is still in the mouth of every Usbeck child, encamped with his army.

Perceiving that I was continually harassed about the money, I said to Abbas Kouli Khan, "I will open my trunks, and pour out the money in the open desert, in order that the villains may be satisfied." Abbas Kouli Khan replied, "Give me the money." He gave it into the hands of Ali Akbar, his treasurer, and made the people believe that he had sent the money on to Meshed, sealed up, by a Tūrkomaun. It is a remarkable fact, that though the Tūrkomauns are great robbers, they are entrusted by merchants with money, which they safely convey to the owner, provided it be sealed. The assassins soon felt that my trunk was no longer so heavy. This made some of them desist from annoying me, but Abdullah, in whose horrid countenance one could perceive that he was a murderer, and who did not blush to say that

he had murdered two people, and who was particularly charged by Abdul Samut Khan to take away my life, as he confessed at Meshed, did not cease from continually annoying me. The four slaves whom I supported, and Haje Ismael, told me that he continually observed, "I shall kill this Kafir by irritating him." One day, when it was exceedingly hot, I took off my gown and gave it to Abdullah. He rode away from me with it, and sold it to Kaher Kouli, and said he had lost it.

CHAPTER XXI.

Arrival at Jehaar-Joo. Abbas Kouli Khan calls on the Caravan to protect Dr. Wolff. Bokhara Ambassador demands Money from Dr. Wolff. Rafitak. Bokharese Horsemen from the Ameer demand Tribute. Dr. Wolff disconsolate. Arrival at Ujaaje. Mowr. Caravan declared Prisoners. Ameer of Bokhara orders the Türkomauns to release the Caravan; they refuse to obey; their Khaleefa threatens to leave them if they injure the Caravan; they obey him. Conversation of Derveesh. Türkomaun. A Derveesh tells the Story of Scanderbeg. Fakeers. Sultan Sanjaar. The Khaleefa speaks of Ghengis Khan. Khaleefa's Son speaks ill of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Tribe of Salor best of the Türkomauns. Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli lay a Plot to murder Dr. Wolff; the Khaleefa frustrates it. Jews aid the Khivites against Bokhara. Joseph of Talkhtoon. Türkomaun Tales of Sultan Sanjaar. Türkomauns, in despite of Treaty, kill the Messenger of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. The Khaleefa's Conversation the night of his departure with Dr. Wolff.

On our arrival at Jehaar-Joo, I learnt that Ismael, Dil Assa Khan's man, Kaher Kouli, Rahim Beyk, and Ameer Sarog, with some others, would come in a body, demand money, and, if I did not give it them, would put me to death. I made Abbas Kouli Khan acquainted with this project. He summoned the conspirators before him, and the principal people of the caravan, and addressed them in the following words: "The Englishman that I have under my care purposes to escape to Khiva, for these people intend to murder him. He who is a good Mussulman will join me to protect him from the hand of

every rascal." The principal people replied, "We will burn the father of the first rascal that touches him." I pointed out to them the assassins; they protested against having any such intention.

It was awful in the night time to hear from the tower of Jehaar-Joo, the voice exclaiming, "Watch, watch, for the people of Organtsh may come, kill your cattle, and destroy the child in the mother's womb." The Governor of Jehaar-Joo sent, by order of the Ameer of Bokhara, fifty men on horseback, to dig for water at Rafitak, that we might not experience any drought, for the people of Merwe had filled up the wells, that the people of Khiva might find no water. During our stay at Jehaar-Joo, Ameer Abul Kasem, the Ambassador for Queen Victoria, in the place of Ak Muhammed, who was the first nominated to the office, incessantly annoyed me with requests for money; for he said Abdul Samut Khan had himself stated to the King that he had given me three thousand tillahs for the expenses of his Ambassador to England. I gave him, therefore, some money, and after the horsemen had returned from clearing the wells at Rafitak, we left Jehaar-Joo.

We rode two nights and two days, without ceasing, from fear of the Khivites. The agonies I sustained on horseback I cannot describe; for I felt that the fall from the horse at Bokhara had produced

internal injuries. The nearer we came to Rafitak, the greater was the consternation of the whole caravan, on account of the reports that reached us that the King of Khiva was approaching, and Rafitak is a rallying point of the Khivites. I confess that I should have been glad had they arrived, for they profess a friendship for the English, had not the following circumstance damped my desire. Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli, both Tūrkomauns, gave me candidly to understand, that the moment the people of Khiva approached the camp of Rafitak, they would put me to death, and escape with all that I had left in my trunk.

At our arrival at Rafitak, we were obliged, in spite of the danger, to remain there two days, for horses, mules, camels, and men, were too tired to proceed immediately. On the very day of our starting again, we perceived horsemen from a distance approaching, and a cry from all sides was heard, "Organtshee, Organtshee." The Khivites are thus called by the people of Bokhara. Neither Ameer Sarog, nor Kaher Kouli, thought of killing me; I stood fast by Abbas Kouli Khan, who gave orders for fighting, while Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli ran off like whipped hounds, but Abdullah, my servant, mounted a horse and rode towards the horsemen, with the intention, which he afterwards confessed at Meshed, to inform them that a Russian

Kasak was among the people in the caravan; and also Abbas Kouli Khan, an Ambassador from Persia to Bokhara, and an enemy of the King of Khiva. But on the approach of the horsemen we perceived that they were Bokharese horsemen, sent by the Ameer, demanding two ducats for every free-bought slave who had crossed the Oxus, for this, they said, was an ancient custom. Abbas Kouli Khan wrote his protest against this to the King of Bokhara.

We continued our journey. My mind was so harassed, and the pain of my internal injury so great, that I began to weep, and said, "Oh God, I know that I shall not return to England to see my wife and my child." To my greatest astonishment I saw that horrid fellow Abdullah also weeping. A derveesh came up to me and sung the following words, from the famous book called *Masnawee:*

Ham Khoda Khahe, Ham Donyae Dun,
Een Khyal ast, een Mohal ast, een Jenoon.

His fancy's wild, his mind distraught,
Who casts on God and Earth his thought.

We arrived at Ujaajc, near a river, when the Türkomauns conspired to stop us, which was prevented by some of the tribe of Tekka. Here it was where Hullakoo fought a battle against one of the Kings of the Kharasms, or Organtsh, and defeated him completely.

Thence we arrived at Mowr. The noble Khaleefa received me most hospitably: his sons, however, imitate ill their noble father. We were all (the entire caravan, Abbas Kouli Khan included,) declared prisoners by the Tūrkomauns, until the slaves who had already purchased their freedom should pay nineteen thousand ducats to them. A messenger was immediately dispatched to Bokhara by night, and an order soon after arrived from the Ameer, under whose protection the Tūrkomauns of Mowr have placed themselves, that we should be permitted to depart immediately, and without molestation. The Tūrkomauns then declared they would not obey the Ameer; on which the Khaleefa replied, "If you do not obey, I shall leave Mowr and settle myself at Heraut, and give you my curse." This had the effect required; but they conspired still to smite the caravan with the sword on the road, and they compelled me to pay for the merchandize on eight camels sent by the Nayeb to his brother, Haje Ibrahim, at Meshed, for they said, "Abdul Samut Khan is the King's right hand."

While at Mowr, a derveesh, who came from Samarcand, related one evening to the people of the caravan, all seated on the ground, the deeds of Timur, also called Tamerlane; how he built at Sabz-Awar a tower of the skulls of men; of his

defeating Bayazid; of his entrance into Samarcand; of the festivities of triumph which he gave at Samarcand; of his death at Atrar when just on the point to march against China.

Whilst he thus was relating the deeds of Timur, he suddenly broke off, and turning to me he said, "The English people are now Timur, for they are the descendants of Ghengis Khan. The Inglees will be the conquerors of the world. On my pilgrimage to Mecca, I came to Aden, where they keep a strong force, and from whence they may march to Mecca whenever they please; and march towards Mecca they shall."

A Tūrkomaun present said, "The Russians shall be the conquerors of the world. They have now built a strong castle almost in the midst of the sea, not far from Khiva. The people of Khiva have once burnt it down, but they soon built it up again. All is over with Islaam."

A derveesh sitting among us made the following observation: "The great mullahs of Samarcand assert that Russia is the Jaaj-Majooj, *i. e.* Gog and Magog, and this has been already predicted by Ameer Sultan, the great derveesh of Room."

To my greatest astonishment, the derveesh related to the Tūrkomauns the history of the Apostacy of Iskandar Beyk from Islamism, in the year 862 of the Hejira, whose name was first Girgis Kas-

trioota, but who received for his valour the name of Iskandar Beyk from Sultan Murad, whom he forsook and turned to the Europeans, and became a scourge of the Mussulmans, and put a stop to their conquests. From this circumstance one may observe, that there are still clever people among the derveeshes, and that they are not all, as described by Mr. Perkins, a set of useless beggars. The derveeshes and Jews preserve some knowledge of religion in the desert, among those wild Tūrkomauns, just as the Christian monks preserved the Bible in the middle ages in the convents from the destruction of the Vandals, and as the monks in Abyssinia to this day have preserved copies of the Bible in their convents, at a time when the Gallas inundate the country of Ethiopia. Ameer Sultan, Shams Tabreezee, Mullah Roome, Hafiz, Saadi, Ferdousi, Abul Kasem, are derveeshes whose names will only be forgotten when the Eastern world and its literature shall be utterly destroyed. The same is the case with the Christian monks. I need only mention the names of Thomas à Kempis, Taulerus, Luther, Gerson, Sixtus Senensis: these will be in everlasting remembrance.

There was also in the caravan a Fakeer from Patna, who was on a pilgrimage to Russia, where the Hindūs have a place of pilgrimage, the name of which I have forgotten. He told the Tūrkomauns

of the deeds of the British nation in Hindūstaun, of General Lake and Lord Clive.

Another came forward. He was from Sinde, and said, "There is now a Governor in Sinde, Lord Napier by name, who is like lightning flame. He has beaten one hundred thousand Pooluj with four hundred men." The whole caravan exclaimed, "Allah, Allah, Allah! They certainly will come here; and if they come, we submit at once, for we Türkomauns will never fight against those who have the upper hand. We serve the most powerful, let them be Hindūs, Christians, or Mussulmans. Those who give us khelaats (robes of honour), and tillahs (ducats), we serve." The Khaleefa of Mowr observed, "God rewards integrity. The English are a people of integrity, and therefore God rewards their integrity. We Türkomauns are thieves, and therefore God is displeased with us."

The Turkomauns of this place and of Sarakhs formerly provided the King of Khiva, as they do now the Ameer of Bokhara, with horsemen, called Sawar, or Al-Aman, horses and mules. I have already alluded to Ezekiel xxvii.

Near this place we meet also with the ruins of a mighty city, called Sultan Sanjaar, from a King, who, according to Sir John Malcolm's account, lived A.D. 1140. He was the greatest of the Seljukian dynasty, but was at last beaten by the Türkomauns.

The Khaleefa of Mowr spoke with admiration of Hulakoo Khan, grandson of Ghengis Khan, and son of Tooli Khan. He marched through Mowr, conquered Organtsh, and at last Bagdad. When the Tūrkomauns of Mowr intended to plunder us, he reminded the Tūrkomauns, in an exalted voice, that such an act of treachery was not even committed by Ghengis Khan.

It is worthy of notice, that the son of the Rabbi of Meshed is among those Jews who became Mussulmans, and turned Tūrkomaun.

The Khaleefa of Mowr showed great confidence in me, by recommending to my care a Haje from Khokand, who was on his way to Mecca.

The son of the Khaleefa called on me, and said, "Dil Assa Khan has acted a treacherous part against you; but, be assured that he has only acted according to his master's orders, the Assaff-ood-Dowla, who is the most dishonest man in existence. Three years are passed since he has promised to us to return the twenty Tūrkomaun prisoners, and he has never done it. There is no faith in the Kajar," by which he meant the members of the Royal Family of Persia. However, I have no just reason to coincide with the opinion of the son of the Khaleefa of the character of the Assaff-ood-Dowla, for he acted always uniformly kind to me. That he is afraid of the English there can be no doubt, and that he entertains more

"*Serenk!*" Brave; or, "*Bismillahe Arrahman Arraheem!*" In the name of the most merciful God. The Jews of Mowr, as well as those of Bokhara, assure me that children of Israel of the tribe of Naphtali and Zebulun, are in the Hindū Koosh among the Balkhwèe, and live from robbery; and they know the exclamation, "Shama Yisrael!" "Hear, Israel." Ghengis Khan had a whole corps of Jews among his troops.

Joseph of Talkhtoon, a Jew from Meshed, but who lived among the Tūrkomauns at Talkhtoon, and in the fame of sanctity, returned to Meshed as soon as the event of Allah-Daad had taken place; became Muhammedan—took his wife and child—went to Candahar, where he again returned to Judaism.

The Jews of Khiva, Khokand, and Tashkand visit sometimes the following marts and fairs: those of Makariev, Orenbourg, and Astrachan, in Russia; and go even as far as Leipsic, where they were justly recognised as the remnants of the Ten Tribes of Israel. The Jews of Khiva, Khokand, and Tashkand, and also those of Heraut, sent me word that they had a great desire to see me in those places, in order to speak with me about the coming of the Messiah. Several Jews of Heraut spoke to me with great regard about Majors Rawlinson, Todd, and a certain Mr. Loggin, whom I have not the

pleasure to know. Singular to say, Sir Alexander Burnes told the Jews of Cabūl that I was dead.

Here also are found coins, with Arabic inscriptions, of the time of Sultan Sanjaar, of whose riches the Tūrkomauns speak wonders—of his silver thrones, and of his hundred crowns of gold. He was once defeated by the inhabitants of Khetay. He resided at Merwe, and governed Khiva. He was at last made prisoner by the people of Khetay; he escaped. Derveeshes till this moment relate in melodious strains the deeds of Sanjaar.

The Tūrkomauns here I found, in spite of the treaty with the Assaff-ood-Dowla, had killed, fourteen days before our arrival, one of his messengers, and made seventeen Persian slaves. The evening before our departure from this place was the only agreeable evening I passed in it. The Khaleefa then supped with me, and I conversed with him till midnight on the second coming of Jesus, and on the day of resurrection. As the Khaleefa had been informed of the intention of the Tūrkomauns to plunder the caravan, he and his eldest son accompanied us two days through the desert towards Sarakhs, and left us with the friendly tribe of Tekka.

CHAPTER XXII.

Tribe of Tekka. *Route*—Olugh Baba; Sarakhs. Abbas Kouli Khan ill-treated by the Tūrkomauns. The Tūrkomauns demand Robes of Honour. Dr. Wolff is obliged to assume Madness to preserve himself and Abbas Kouli Khan. Tūrkomauns demand Tribute again. Taking of Sarakhs by Abbas Mirza in 1832. Khojam Shokoor threatens to put the Caravan to Death. Arrival at Mostroon. Nasarieh. Dil Assa Khan disgraced by the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Gaskoon. Meshed. Dr. Wolff seized with Illness. Account of Meshed; its Rulers. Letter from Colonel Sheil, announcing a Subscription to the Mission of three thousand Rupees from Captain Eyre. Second Letter from Colonel Sheil, announcing a Subscription for the same Object from Cabul Relief Committee of ten thousand Rupees. Letter from Captain D'Arcy. Dr. Wolff never received these Amounts. Letter from Agra Bank, announcing further Subscription from the North-west Provinces of India. Letter from Secretary of the Cabul Relief Society. Third Letter from Colonel Sheil. Assaff-ood-Dowla takes Birjand. Earthquake at Kayen. Persian Agents not trustworthy. Kind Reception at Meshed of Dr. Wolff by Hussein Khan, Son of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Hussein Khan wishes to punish Dil Assa Khan. Dr. Wolff intercedes for him on account of his Family. Dr. Wolff gets Abdullah bastinadoed and imprisoned. Fourth Letter of Colonel Sheil. Kindness of Mullah Mehdee to the English. Villany of a German named Dieskau. Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Jumaa, calls at Night on Dr. Wolff. Massacre of Allah-Daad. The Jew Rahmeem. Dr. Wolff's Letter to the Jews of Meshed.

The tribe of Tekka, spoken of in the last chapter, are more attached to the King of Organtsh than to the Ameer of Bokhara, and therefore the people of Mowr dared not pursue us here. It is also to be remarked that the tribe of Tekka, with the tribe of Toora Timur, remained attached together to the unfortunate Sultan Sanjaar, to the last.

One thing was unfortunate for me, that several of the tribe of Tekka are in secret understanding with Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, so that if a time should arrive that that villain will be obliged to escape from Bokhara, he will find not only an asylum among the Tūrkomauns of Tekka, but also persons, especially one Khan Saat by name, who will assist him in making his escape. These Tūrkomauns of Tekka knew that Abdul Samut Khan was my enemy.

We went from Tekka to another camp of the same tribe, called Olugh Baba, and then arrived at Sarakhs. Abbas Kouli Khan was so ill treated by them that the poor man burst into tears, and said, "If ever I return to Persia, I will perform my Siyarat (pilgrimage) to Kerbelay, to the tomb of Imam Husseyn, and thence go to Mecca and Medinah, and there remain with my wife and child."

On our arrival at Sarakhs, the Tūrkomauns demanded from Abbas Kouli Khan and myself, Khelats (robes of honour). I had none to give, except those belonging to Conolly, which he bought as presents for chiefs, and which I gave them. Dil Assa Khan, however, combined with Abdullah, and advised the Tūrkomaun boys to hoot me and Abbas Kouli Khan. As if struck by inspiration, I suddenly conceived the brilliant idea of playing the madman, to prevent a

rush of the mob on us, and began to dance about and sing the Persian song,

> His fancy's wild, his mind distraught,
> Who casts on God and Earth his thought.

Thinking me possessed, they called out, "This is a Dehli" (a possessed derveesh), and quitted me in terror.

Residence among these lawless tribes convinces me more than ever that there cannot be worse despotism than the despotism of a mob. There is nothing in my eyes more detestable and calamitous than the attempt of a foolish and unpolished mob, governed by maddening influences, to sway and power. Virtue is repeatedly punished by them—vice scarcely at all. Savage life, with me, has no charms. I have always found the savage more malicious, deceitful, and cruel, than the beings in civilized life, whatever fine things may be said of the virtues of the desert. What is the savage in the abstract? The fearful declension from a purer type, not, as is erroneously supposed, the early element of man.

Even at Sarakhs, though nominally under the protection of Persia, the Tūrkomauns detained us again for several days, demanding tribute, which we were obliged to give; but here another circumstance of a most annoying nature happened. The Ambassador of the King of Bokhara to the court of Persia,

Sabhan Ullah Beyk by name, in union with his co-Ambassador for England, permitted some Tūrkomaun chiefs to capture those slaves that had purchased their liberty, and to again enslave them. After a long discussion, they were outvoted by some of the chiefs of the Tūrkomauns. I did not find one single Tūrkomaun at Sarakhs of those who inhabited that place in 1832. On my way to Bokhara, there were there some of my old acquaintances of 1832, but on my return they were all gone to Yolatan, near Mowr. Thus unsteady are the movements of these tribes.

Abbas Mirza took Sarakhs in the following manner, in 1832. He marched with his army towards it, but sent word to the Tūrkomauns that he wished to treat with them, and therefore they should send to him their chiefs. The chiefs came. When he pretended to be carrying on negotiations, he ordered the chief portion of his army to advance, and His Royal Highness himself soon followed. When he came near the castle, a little rivulet obstructed his way. General Borowsky, the Jew, advised Abbas Mirza to divert the stream, which he did, and the castle was taken, with the assistance of one thousand Russians, by the address of Borowski. The greater part of the Tūrkomauns were either slain in battle or made slaves. Thus, for the first time, the Tūrkomauns experienced the same calamity which they inflicted

on the Persians; for as they formerly made slaves of the Persians in Khorassaun, Abbas Mirza, as a just punishment, enslaved them in return. Previous to the arrival of Abbas Mirza, the Khans, from covetousness and policy, gave to any Tūrkomaun, who happened to be made prisoner, his liberty, on paying a small sum for his ransom. Thus Abbas Mirza was the first who punished the robberies of the Tūrkomauns with just retribution. I cannot bear the Tūrkomauns; they are a covetous, treacherous, and, at the same time, stupid class of people. They have not either the ability of the Arab or the Kurd. I must also add that Mullah Mehdee, the Jew of Meshed, and the Jews of Sarakhs, were of essential assistance to Abbas Mirza in his stratagems to delude the Tūrkomauns. I must also confess that I am sorry that our Government withdrew the British force, consisting of Captain Shee and five Serjeants, as soon as Abbas Mirza marched against Sarakhs; for what advantage can accrue to the British Government from befriending the Tūrkomauns at the expense of amity with Persia. It is the same policy which was formerly pursued by the European Powers with regard to the Barbary States. I think it is time that Christian Powers should pursue a line of policy consistent with principles of morality, founded upon the Gospel, and not follow measures based on mutual jealousy. Would to God the British Govern-

ment would appoint everywhere such men as Sir Stratford Canning and Lord William Bentinck.

The most powerful Aga Sakal of the tribe of Tekka at Sarakhs is Khojam Shokoor, who is allied with the King of Khiva. He threatened to smite with the edge of the sword the whole caravan, if they did not give him tribute, after the other Tūrkomauns had taken it. The place is divided into those who are allied with Bokhara, and others with Khiva.

We left that horrid place, and arrived at Mostroon. "Thank God!" we exclaimed, "we are on Persian ground." Mostroon is situated upon an eminence, with a castle erected there by the Assaff-ood-Dowla of Khorassaun, for the purpose of watching the movements of the Tūrkomauns, and to prevent them from invading Khorassaun. Fifty soldiers of the Merve tribe are placed there, with some pieces of artillery. About ten minutes walk distance from Mostroon is a hot well of most powerful mineral water. If this place were in the hands of a European power, a most beautiful Spa could be made of it.

From thence we proceeded to Nasarieh, a place containing about twenty houses, and six farsangs distant from Mostroon. It is inhabited by Mervee, who were formerly on a good understanding with the Tūrkomauns, and assisted them in making slaves in Khorassaun; but the Assaff-ood-Dowla cut off the heads of several of them, and then they thought

better of it, and gave up that trade. The villain Dil Assa Khan was the Chief of the Mervee at Nasarieh, but, on account of his treachery towards me, the Assaff-ood-Dowla has deposed him. From Nasarieh we proceeded to Gaskoon, a village of two hundred houses, with a strong castle; we slept there one night. Mullah Mehdee, the Jew, came from Meshed to welcome me.

We proceeded the next day towards Meshed, the capital of Khorassaun. Many inhabitants came out to meet me, and exclaimed, "Praise be to God that you come back with your head from that accursed city, Bokhara! We have heard how shamefully you have been treated by those scoundrels, Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan and Dil Assa Khan. The Assaff-ood-Dowla has sworn by God, the Prophet, and Ali, to burn the father and wife of Dil Assa Khan!" Just on our entering *Meshed the Holy*, I was taken with a most violent vomiting. Before I enter into details about my reception at *Meshed the Holy*, as it is called, I must give a short sketch of that place.

Meshed was formerly called Toos. When Imaum Resa was poisoned by the son of Haroon Rasheed, the place was called Meshed, *i. e.* the place of martyrdom; it is the most celebrated place of pilgrimage for the Sheeahs. Muhammedans of that sect from all parts come to perform their devotions at the

tomb of Imaum Resa, over which a most splendid mosque is built; the cupola of it is entirely of gold. It is visited every year by from twenty to thirty thousand pilgrims. It is a great commercial town, and caravans go from thence to Heraut, Candahar, Bokhara, Isfahan, Teheraun, and Tabreez. The town is under the King of Persia, but he has but little influence there. It is not only the place of burial of Imaum Resa, but also of Haroon Rashid and his son; also the great poet, Ferdousi, the author of the *Shah Nameh;* and the great conqueror, Muslem-Beyk, at whose tomb Timur performed his devotions. It was conquered by Tamerlane, and the following personages are the real rulers of the place:

1. Alloyer Khan, the Assaff-ood-Dowla, or Viceroy of the Empire. He is uncle to His Majesty the King of Persia.
2. Mirza Askeree Imaum Jumaa, Head of the Mosque of Imaum Resa, and Chief Mullah of the Town.
3. Mirza Moosa Khan, the Metualli, *i. e.* President of the Mosque.
4. Mirza Haje Hashem, one of the Directors of the Prayer at the Mosque.
5. Minister of the Police.

These direct all the internal affairs of and around Meshed as far as Semnan. In order to give some idea of the little influence the King of Persia has at Meshed, I have simply to note that, after the massacre of the Jews had taken place at Meshed, the

King sent a commissioner with an order, that the perpetrators of the crime should be delivered and brought to Teheraun. This order was disobeyed!

On my arrival I met Ali Muhammed Beyk, Gholam of the British Embassy of Teheraun, already there, with letters from Colonel Sheil for myself, and also letters from India, that three thousand rupees had been collected for me, which I never received.

On this subject I subjoin the following kind communication from Colonel Sheil:

My dear Dr. Wolff, Tehran, August 11th, 1844.

A messenger is on the point of going to Meshed, and gives me time only to tell you that I have received a letter from Captain Eyre, in which he informs me that three thousand rupees are at your disposal.

You can draw on me for that amount; but I beg you particularly to distinguish in your different bills on what account it is you draw. This is necessary for my reimbursement.

I have told Agha Abul Kassim to deliver to you this letter on your arrival at Meshed; *for I cannot venture to place you in danger by sending a letter to Bokhara.*

With best wishes, believe me,

Yours very truly,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

I cannot express my thanks for Lieutenant Eyre's great kindness, for I refer to him, indirectly if not

directly, the following communication from Colonel Sheil:

Sir, Tehran, June 1st, 1844.

I have the honour to forward to you a letter, which I have received to your address from Captain D'Arcy, Secretary to the Bombay Cabul Relief Fund Committee, placing at your disposal, for certain purposes, the sum of ten thousand rupees (10,000 Rs.). Your drafts upon me to the above amount, not exceeding two thousand tomans (Ts. 2000), will receive the attention requisite. And I have moreover requested Agha Abul Kassim, a merchant at Meshed, with whom you are acquainted, to afford you assistance in finding purchasers for your bills, and to answer your bills on him. You should, however, avoid drawing largely on this person without previous communication, as his means may be inadequate to the payment of considerable sums.

Should you draw upon me for the purposes mentioned by Captain D'Arcy, I beg you will keep in distinct recollection the necessity of stating, in the body of the bill, that it is drawn on account of the Bombay Cabul Relief Fund Committee. An omission on this point will put me to much inconvenience.

I also transmit to you a letter from the Secretary to the General Committee Cabul Relief Fund, authorizing you to draw upon the Sub-Committee for ten thousand rupees (Rs. 10,000). I am inclined to conjecture that your bills on that Association would not be saleable in Toorkestan, or even at Meshed, and I am not aware that the Committee has made any other adequate arrangement for their payment. It is therefore, I suppose, requisite that in case of necessity, you should draw bills on me for the above amount, not exceeding two thousand tomans (Ts. 2000). And I have also requested Agha Abul Kassim to afford you such assistance as may be in his power in the disposal of your bills. I

shall write to the Secretary of the General Fund to make arrangements for answering my counter bills.

Should you draw on me on this account, I shall be equally obliged to you to state distinctly in the bill, that it is on account of the General Cabul Relief Fund Committee.

I have forwarded these letters to Mullah Mehdee, your agent at Meshed, directing him to transmit them to Merve, to your servant Rejjeb. But I have told Mullah Mehdee not to send these letters to Bokhara; for however useful it might be that you should receive them in that city, I fear to expose you to what I believe would be great danger, by rendering you liable to the suspicions of the Ameer.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

I also subjoin Captain D'Arcy's kind letter to myself:

My dear Mr. Wolff, Bombay, March 19th, 1844

I have the pleasure to inclose a letter to your address, from the Secretary of the General Committee of the Cabool Relief Fund, at Umbalea; and at the same time I am directed, by the Bombay Cabool Relief Fund Committee, to place at your disposal a further sum of Rs. (10,000) ten thousand Company Rupees, to enable you to procure the release of any captive British subjects who may be still remaining in Affghanistan, or the neighbouring states, as slaves, or who may be incapacitated from returning to their native country by wounds or sickness received during the disastrous retreat of our army in 1842.

The Envoy at the Court of Persia, Colonel Sheil, has been requested by the Bombay Government to cash your bills for the above amount, and I have requested him, in for-

warding this letter, to address you on the subject, and point out the mode by which you may most conveniently draw on him for the amount.

That the Almighty God may bless you in your humane efforts, is the prayer of, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

GEORGE D'ARCY,

Secretary to the Bombay Cabool Relief Fund.

I further add the following communication from the Secretary of the Cabūl Relief Society alluded to in the above letter:

My dear Sir, Camp Umbalea, March 3rd, 1844.

The General Committee of the Caubul Relief Fund having taken into their serious consideration the case of the numerous British subjects who must be remaining in Affghanistan and the neighbouring states, either as slaves or from inability to leave, and regarding them as sufferers from the disastrous retreat of the British force in 1842, have resolved to appropriate a portion of their remaining funds to effect their release and return to their own country. Their intentions are embodied in the annexed resolution, dated the 21st ultimo.

The Committee have reluctantly limited your power of drawing upon them to ten thousand rupees. Their object in such limitation is to reserve a portion of their funds to provide for the necessities of those who from physical disability may be unable to support themselves, and who may not be entitled to a pension from Government; but while they thus restrict your expenditure, they anxiously hope that you may be able to enter into such arrangements as may enable them, should their funds admit, to complete their labours under the gratifying assurance that not a single individual who has a claim on British sympathy grieves in captivity, or is

exposed to wander in the streets of a foreign country a beggar and an outcast.

Earnestly soliciting your cordial co-operation, which from the feelings which induced your present mission we confidently anticipate receiving, and commending you to the protection of our gracious God,

Believe me, dear Sir, sincerely yours,

J. RICHARDSON,

Secretary Gen. Com. C. R. F.

21st February, 1844.

Resolved,—That a letter be written through the Resident at the Court of Persia to the Rev. Dr. Wolff, requesting him to exert himself in the release and return to India of any Hindoostanees and others, lately in the British service, who from physical injuries, or from being in bondage, may be unable to leave; and that he be authorized to draw on the Sub-Committee for this purpose to the extent of ten thousand rupees. That he be further requested to make all payments for this object dependent on the arrival of the unfortunate sufferers at Peshawar; and that, should the means now placed at his disposal be inadequate to effect the release and return of all that he may meet, he be solicited to enter into such arrangements as may enable the Committee, should their means admit, to extend their aid to others.

J. RICHARDSON, *Sec. Gen. Com.*

I think it right to add, that I have received nothing from either of these Societies' funds, which have possibly remitted the separate amounts to England or Persia. Independent of these, I received by the Agra Bank 129*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, remitted to my bankers, Messrs. Drummond, of which I subjoin the following document:

Agra and United Service Bank,
Sir, May 10th, 1844.

I have the pleasure to advise my having this day sent to Messrs. Drummond and Company, Charing Cross, a bill for 129*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, being amount of subscriptions of officers and others in the North West Provinces of India, in aid of the benevolent object you have undertaken.

At the suggestion of Captain V. Eyre, we have made this sum payable to Colonel Sheil, on your behalf. He will, no doubt, be able to advise with you as to the best mode of realizing it.

I remain, yours faithfully,
H. W. I. Wood,
Assistant Secretary for the Society.

To Colonel Sheil I feel deeply indebted for the safe conveyance of all these notices, and for the following cautious and well-timed epistle:

My dear Sir, June 16th, 1844.

As a matter of precaution, lest your detention at Bokhara should be prolonged on other pretexts, I have despatched a letter from the Shah to the Ameer regarding you, to be forwarded, in the event of there being any necessity, by the Asaf-ood-Dowlah, to Bokhara. I trust, however, that this will not be required, and that you are already within the Persian territory. It will be very satisfactory to me to hear this intelligence, for until then I shall not be free from anxiety on your account.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Very truly yours,
Justin Sheil.

The Assaff-ood-Dowla was just gone to the district of Kayen, in the city of Birjand, called also

by some travellers Burjund. Ameer Assaad Ullah Khan, of Kayen or Burjund, was the only Khan who refused submission to Abbas Mirza, and now to the Assaff-ood-Dowla. The Assaff-ood-Dowla marched against him whilst I was at Bokhara, and succeeded in taking the whole district, and Burjund, the capital. An earthquake also killed thousands of the people of Kayen.

Now to give an idea of how little the Persians can be trusted as agents, I have just to state the following fact. Soon after my arrival at Meshed, Aga Abool Kasem,—then the agent of Colonel Sheil, —came to me. I was then with Mullah Mehdee, and surrounded by a great number of Jews, or, as they were now called by the Mussulmans, *Islam Jadeeda*, New Mussulmans, as Jews in Spain, forced to be Christians, are called *Nuevi Cristiani*, New Christians. Now Aga Abool Kasem brought with him a Sayëd, and introduced him to me as a man sent as a *secret agent* by Colonel Sheil to watch the movements of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. He told me also, that his (the Sayëd's) brother was sent by Colonel Sheil to Kayen, to watch the Assaff-ood-Dowla there, and report to him whenever the Assaff intended to attack Heraut. He told me that he was a *secret agent* of Colonel Sheil in the presence of twenty Jews and many Mussulmans; and I *know* that he was employed by Colonel Sheil.

The following circumstance must also not be forgotten. One of the chief men of Yar Muhammed Khan at Heraut, whose name I have forgotten, sent a man to Colonel Sheil with some presents and a letter. Colonel Sheil gave to the man a letter for Yar Muhammed Khan's chief man, and a spy-glass as a present. The messenger came to me, and wished actually to sell to me the spy-glass consigned to his care by Colonel Sheil to deliver it to the man of Yar Muhammed Khan, called Mirza Nujuf Khan; and though the fellow had returned from Teheraun to Meshed when I arrived at Meshed on my way to Bokhara, he never proceeded to Heraut, but was still at Meshed on my return, and never had delivered either Colonel Sheil's letter or spy-glass.

As the Assaff-ood-Dowla was not there, his son Hussein Khan received me very kindly, and delivered to me a letter from his father, who made a thousand apologies for having sent with me a man like Dil Assa Khan, and desired me to order any punishment which I liked to inflict upon him, and placed him immediately in irons, but as Dil Assa Khan had a wife and children, I interceded for him; but I got instantly put into irons my servant Abdullah, bastinadoed and sent to prison for forty days; for he threatened to come after me, and that he would not rest until he had accomplished the pledge he gave to Abdul Samut Khan, to put me to death, adding

these words: "God burn the father of Abbas Kouli Khan, for his care and solicitude about the Kafir, which prevented me from killing him on the road."

The following letter reached me here from Colonel Sheil:

My dear Dr. Wolff, 19 Sep.

I am heartily glad to learn your arrival in Meshed. I have sent a gholam specially to accompany you to Tehran, and I recommend you to quit your companions and come on with him as fast as you can. I conclude from the state of your health that you do not intend to travel to the eastward.

Believe me very truly yours,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

The bearer takes a letter to Hoossein Khan, directing him to send you to Tehran. I have taken this precaution, lest Hajee Ibrahem should attempt to impede you on account of the bill for six thousand tillahs.

Get the two thousand tillahs from Abbas Koolee Khan without delay. J. S.

Though I had assigned a house to me by Hussein Khan, the Governor, I stopped with Mullah Mehdee, who has always shown himself a friend to me and all the English nation; and this kind Jew was, during the invasion of the English in Affghanistaun, employed by Major Rawlinson at Candahar, and Major Todd at Heraut, and suffered repeatedly for his attachment to our people. In proof of it I record the following fact.

A German from Hamburgh, named Dieskau,

came from India to Meshed, pretending to be an English ambassador. Mullah Mehdee lent him twelve hundred ducats, with which the rascal escaped. The fact is known to Sir John Mc Neill, Colonel Farrant, and Colonel Sheil, and to the Governor-General of India.

Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Jumaa, or chief of the mosque, called on me in the night time, for I was exceedingly unwell. He made me a present of a turquoise ring. He said, "I was suspected by Muhammed Shah (King of Persia) to be too partial to England, and he therefore invited me to appear at Teheraun. I obeyed the summons, but I could drive out the Kajar, *i. e.* the present dynasty of Persia, from Meshed whenever I please." I besought him to protect the Jews, and not to allow the Muhammedans to carry on against them a regular system of inquisition. Mirza Askeree is very fond of money, and after receiving a few tomauns from a Jewish family, he allowed a considerable number of them to emigrate to Heraut, Yazd, and Teheraun, where they live again as Jews. How affecting it is to look at the Jews of Meshed. I saw the poor old women go about continually, exclaiming, "*Allah-Daad! Allah-Daad!*" *God has given! God has given!* the exclamation used by the Sayëd to excite the populace to murder the Jews of Meshed.

On my second arrival I heard more fully the

history of the massacre of the Jews. The Jews for centuries had settled there from the cities Casween, Rasht, and Yazd. They were distinguished advantageously by their cleanliness, industry, and taste for Persian poetry. Many of them had actually imbibed the system of the Persian Suffees. We heard them, instead of singing the Hymns of Zion, reciting in plaintive strains the poetry of Hafiz and Ferdousi, and the writings of Masnawee. They had accumulated great riches, and did not busy themselves in propitiating the authorities of Meshed by occasional presents. Their wealth had long excited the cupidity of the people of Meshed, who only sought an opportunity to seize on their possessions. The following occasion presented itself, which enabled them to realize this object.

In the year 1838, the Muhammedans celebrated the feast of Bairam. On that very day a Jewess slaughtered a dog at the advice of a Mussulman physician, for the purpose of washing with the blood of the dog her own hands. One of the Mussulman Sayëds, who heard it, and to whom the Jews previously had refused a present, called together all the Mussulmans in the mosque of Imaum Resa, and addressed them in the following manner: "People of Muhammed and Ali, the Jews have derided our feast of Bairam by sacrificing on the very day of our feast a dog. I shall now tell you in two words what must

be done. *Allah-Daad,*" which means, *God has given.* They took the allusion, and whilst the Assaff-ood-Dowla, the Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Jumaa, and the rest of the authorities, were sleeping, the whole populace shouted "Allah-Daad," and with the shout of *Allah-Daad* they rushed into the houses of the Jews, slew thirty-five of them, robbed and plundered their property, and the rest of them saved their lives, but not their property, by reciting the Muhammedan creed. Only a few of them preferred death to apostacy. Mullah Daoud Cohen, the Chief Rabbi and High Priest of the Jewish nation at Meshed, gave the first example of apostacy. The year in which this event happened still goes by the name of Allah-Daad among both Jews and Muhammedans. In secret they observe the Jewish religion and tell their children not to forget the event of Allah-Daad.

There is a Jew here, Rahmeem by name, whom I knew in former times. He was not only learned in Jewish learning, but also in Persian literature, and rather given to the system of the Souffees. When he saw the Jews massacred, and the shout of "Allah-Daad" became universal, he turned Muhammedan with the rest, but soon after was struck with madness. The word of "Allah-Daad" struck him with consternation; he tears his clothes, and runs about in the streets, and the only word he

utters is "Allah Daad!" I asked him, "Rahmeem, if I give you a suit of clothes, will you wear them?" "Yes." I gave him a suit of clothes; the next day he tore them into pieces, exclaiming, "Allah-Daad! When my mosque shall be built I will wear clothing. Now Allah-Daad! Allah-Daad!"

Whilst I was with the Jews at Meshed, the time came that the Jews commemorate their day of Atonement. The poor women and the old Jews fasted in secret. The Mussulmans were informed by those Jews who had been real apostates to the Muhammedan faith, and who voluntarily embraced that faith for the sake of convenience, previous to the event of Allah-Daad, that the Jews converted in the year of Allah-Daad were Jews in secret. Whilst I was with them the servant of Mirza Sayd Askeree, the Imaum Ajooma, entered the house of a Jew in the evening time, in order to find out whether they celebrate the day of Atonement. I was informed of the fact, and sent him word to leave immediately the house of the Jews, which he did. The next morning I wrote to the Imaum Ajooma a serious letter, and gave him to understand, that most of the European powers take an interest in the condition of the Jews, and told him that he would make himself an immortal name if he would protect the Jews; which he promised to do. I wrote the following appeal to the Jews of Meshed, which was

copied by them, and sent by them to the Jews of Heraut, Mazanderaun, Yazd, Hamadan, and others. The appeal was as follows:

My dear Brethren,

I knew you fourteen years ago; a long time before the event of Allah-Daad took place. You were kind to me, and administered to me the rites of hospitality; and therefore what I am going to tell you does not proceed from any feeling of hostility and ill-will, but from a feeling of affection, regard, and compassion towards you: and what I am going to tell you is, that you had but little feeling for true religion—of that religion which teaches the Shah, the sage, and the philosopher, to look up to the Creator, the Lord of the world, with confidence, like a sucking child to the mother while it rests upon her knees,—and which teaches the philosopher to exclaim with child-like simplicity, Abba, Father! You had little feeling for that religion which teaches us that all around us is desert if our spirit does not look towards heaven. You, like the Sooffees of the Persians, whom many of you worshipped, studied history and nature without reference to religion, unmindful that nature and history are only enigmas, which can only be solved by the knowledge of true religion. You wallowed about in the sensual poems of Hafiz, and Youssuf and Zuleika, and forgot Moses and the Prophets. You were totally void of faith, which is the element of all human knowledge and activity. You despised Moses and the Prophets, and walked in the ways of the Gentiles. God, therefore, gave you up to them in his righteous indignation; and those very people in whom you placed your entire confidence, have been, as you told me yourselves, the first who not only forsook you but plundered you. Return, therefore, to the Lord your God, with weeping, sorrow, and contrition of heart. Search the Scriptures, which will lead you to Him who, though He was rejected

by the Jews as the brethren of Joseph rejected their brother, and as the children of Israel rejected Moses in the beginning,—was nevertheless the son of David according to the flesh, and the Jehovah our Righteousness according to the Spirit. He was bruised for our iniquities, and despised and rejected of men, and was cut off from the land of the living; but, after there shall have been overturnings, overturnings, overturnings of empires,—He shall bring you into the wilderness, and there He will plead with you face to face, like as He pleaded with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt. Those days of Egypt, my dear friends, and the events which took place in those days, are typical of those days and events which shall take place when Jesus of Nazareth, who is the real son of David, shall come the second time to redeem not only Israel, but also accomplish all the promises to the Gentiles. Mighty events shall soon take place; and you have already had a forewarning of the sufferings which shall come upon you in the event of Allah-Daad, until you shall look on Him whom you have pierced, and mourn. Then you shall enter into the Land of Promise; but you must repent first of your sins, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out when the days of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.

I advise you, however, in the first instance, to write to Sir Moses Montefiore, who will give you every assistance in his power, in order to bring you out of your present distressed condition.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Dissent among the Mussulmans. Sayëd asserts Pilgrimages to be unnecessary. Imaum Resa killed by Haroun Rashid. Muhammed Ali Serraf calls on Dr. Wolff; Dr. Wolff charges him with Neglect in not delivering the Letters of Sir Moses Montefiore and the Sultan; Muhammed Ali Serraf shows a Letter from Colonel Sheil to justify his Conduct. Date of the Execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Argument for 1258 Hejirah; 1259 the right Date. Dr. Wolff regrets that the Sufferings of the Officers should have been so protracted, but cannot come, on reflection, to any other Conclusion than 1259 Hejirah, 1843 A.D. Character of Colonel Sheil. Evil of appointing Envoys that are not of the Established Church. Singular Conduct of Colonel Sheil. Letter from the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Christian Missions. Stations for them recommended at Semnaan, Damghan, Nishapoor, Meshed, Hasrat-Sultan, Tashkand, Shamay, Yarkand, Cashgar, Eele, Thibet, and Cashmeer; not at present at Bokhara. Khokand, Cashmeer, Ladack, and Lassa. Languages requisite: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Hindustanee, Hebrew, and Kalmuck. Sciences and Arts. Conduct required in a Missionary. The Character of a Missionary. Dialogue between Dr. Wolff and a Sooffee. Ameer Beyk, the Daoodee. *Route*—Askerea; Shereef Abad; Kadam-Gah; Nishapore; Sabz-Awar. Curious Report circulated there, at the first Visit of Dr. Wolff, that he was two hundred years old, and acquainted with all the Sciences of the Earth. Visited the second time by Crowds who conceived he had predicted the recent Earthquake. *Route*—Massanan; Abbas Abad; Miyandasht; Miyamey. Dr. Cormick died at Miyamey. Death of Abbas Mirza. Illness of Dr. Wolff. Conversation between Sabhan Ullah Khan and Dr. Wolff. Letter from Colonel Sheil received on route. *Route*—Shah Rood; Deh-Mullah; Damghan; Dowlat Abad; Aghwan; Semnan; Lasgird; Deh Namak; Pah-Deh; Kish-Lagh. Arrival at Teheraun. Hospitable Reception by Colonel Sheil. Monsieur Le Comte Sartiges.

It is remarkable that dissenters in doctrine are now prevailing largely in the Muhammedan religion. A Sayëd at Meshed began to teach that the *Koran*

was quite enough, and pilgrimages unnecessary. This, in the great city of Imaum Resa, was extraordinary doctrine. This Imaum Resa was the eighth of the twelve Imaums descended from Muhammed. He was killed at Meshed by the son of Haroun Rashid, by a poisoned grape. Beside Imaum Resa, there is here interred Aboo Mosleem, the fiercest of all the conquerors of the Islam faith. A strong cry of heresy was raised against this Sayëd, but Mirza Askeree protected him. A fierce schism now prevails among the Sheeahs at Meshed.

Muhammed Ali Serraf, Colonel Stoddart's agent, called on me again on my return. I reproached him for not having forwarded the letters of Sir Moses Montefiore and the Sultan from Colonel Sheil. He showed me, for his own justification, a letter from Colonel Sheil, in which he distinctly wrote to him that he should not forward the letters by an express messenger, but by some other opportunity. Colonel Sheil must have had peculiar reasons for giving him these instructions, of which I am not aware. He may have leaned to the conviction, that both Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly were executed in the year 1258 Hejirah, or A.D. 1842.

I shall now give further details of this date question. Both the Nayeb and the King gave as the date, Sarratan, 1259, and after I had sent away the letter written to the Stoddart and Conolly Com-

mittee, by order of the King, in which this date was mentioned, Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan repeated again 1259; but counting the months since their death brought it to twenty months instead of twelve. He numbered them on beads, as all the Persians do. I then said, "If twenty months have elapsed, the event must have taken place in the year 1258," for 1260 had just begun. The Nayeb then, after reflection, said with some hesitation, "Yes, you are right, and both the King and I were mistaken." I think it also fitting to add here, that I have my doubts whether the Nayeb did not desire to confuse the matter, for it may yet be a serious matter to him. I then asked several at Bokhara about the date, among others Saadat, and they gave 1258. Thus much may be said in favour of 1258, and that was my impression in my excited state at Teheraun. But Haje Ibrahim, before my arrival at Bokhara, told me distinctly that the letter of Lord Ellenborough had arrived previous to the execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Now I counted at Bokhara the date of Sir R. Shakspeare's note, which accompanied Lord Ellenborough's letter, and that note was written, I well remember, only one year before my arrival. Now Haje Ibrahim would not have said that Lord Ellenborough's letter arrived before their execution, if it had not actually been the case; and adding to this, that Abbas

Kouli Khan, as will be seen after my leaving Teheraun, decidedly said to me that they had been put to death only eleven months before my arrival; and besides that, the Assaff-ood-Dowla also, on my going to Bokhara, told me the same thing; it cannot be denied that the year 1259 is the most probable, for though the Nayeb had not delivered, as I fully believe, the letter of Lord Ellenborough to the King, he (the Nayeb) yet received it before their death, and suppressed it from the fear of consequences to himself.

I much wish I could revert to my old conclusion, since it would be more satisfactory to the painful feelings of many dear friends to learn, that the misery of the unfortunate sufferers had not extended over so protracted a period of time, that the account of the Akhund-Zadeh were exact; since to reflect on two British officers, reduced to so horrible a state that the flesh was gnawed from their bones in large masses by vermin, with the fearful sufferings, mental and bodily, that they must have undergone by the slow operation of the atrocious tyranny practised upon them at the instigation of Abdul Samut Khan, excites an intensity of feeling on my part almost maddening, and cannot produce an inferior feeling among those of their own flesh and blood.

And here let me take the opportunity to add a

few words on the character of Colonel Sheil. He is evidently a gallant and honourable officer, who would serve his Queen with his blood; but his reserved disposition must prove painful to many. I once remarked this to the gentlemen of the Embassy: "Colonel Sheil has not that pleasing communicativeness which is so conspicuous in Sir Stratford Canning." The answer I received was, that "I ought to consider that Sir Stratford Canning was Ambassador, and Colonel Sheil only Chargé d'Affaires." I am also convinced that he will give protection to British subjects, and to Protestants in general, as far as his religious principles allow him, for he is a Roman Catholic. As an instance, I mention the following fact. The American missionaries, who have been always under English protection, received the greatest hospitality from Colonel Sheil, but when they came in conflict with the Roman Catholic missionaries, though he believed the Protestant missionaries to be in the right, he candidly told them that he could not interfere, for he was a Roman Catholic. This is one evil of appointing a minister of a different religious persuasion to that established in the land; an evil which the sagacity of the Archbishop of Canterbury detected at the passing of the Emancipation Bill. His Grace then stated that the Protestant missions must suffer from it.

As an instance, I may mention also the following

fact, by which it will be seen that a Protestant clergyman must suffer considerably, even among the most liberal Roman Catholics, by such a circumstance. Colonel Sheil very liberally gave me permission to preach in the Embassy, but he himself did not attend. Now the impression raised among the natives by this line of conduct is unfavourable to Christianity, who either say the Vizier Muchtar has no religion at all, or that he pays no regard to the Mullah of his country.

It will always remain to me an enigma why Colonel Sheil, though he admitted that Abdul Samut Khan was a villain, and though he was unfavourably impressed with the appearance of Haje Ibrahim his brother, nevertheless would never enter into details about him, and when I recommended him to get full information of the infamous character of Abdul Samut Khan from Mirza Abdul Wahab, he actually turned in a rude and insulting manner from Abdul Wahab. My estimate of Colonel Sheil's character will be fully established by every Englishman that knows him. His bilious maladies, however, and gout, must plead an apology for all this. He also acted completely the reverse of Sir S. Canning in the following affair. He knew fully, as well by Abbas Kouli Khan as by myself, how villanously I was treated by Dil Assa Khan, but he never for one moment thought of getting me any redress, or of

punishing him through the medium of the Assaff-ood-Dowla; on the contrary, Sir S. Canning, when I told His Excellency that the Ambassador who was designed to accompany me to England from Bokhara had taken from me money and a shawl, would have compelled him to restore everything had I wished it.

I received, also, the following letter from the Assaff-ood-Dowla:

To the mighty in rank, of high family, the fellow-traveller of greatness and dignity, the chief of the great personages of the Christian faith, and the cream of the illustrious (followers) of the Messiah, the unique of the times, Padre Joseph Wolff; may he always be happy and delighted, and gratified by obtaining his objects and desires.

Be it known, that from excess of friendship, I was most anxious and desirous to see that great man; and it so happened, that when he returned from Bokhara to the Holy Land, I was not there, which was a source of regret and disappointment to me, but since that mighty person came to seek for peace and the increase of friendship and good understanding between both nations, I am much pleased and delighted.

If it please God, that great person, after returning to the seat of Government, will always write an account of himself to me, as I am much gratified with his friendship. Salaam.

(*Seal of Assaff-ood-Dowla.*)

At this point of my travels I drew together the following view of Christian Missions. During my journey to Bokhara, I tried to ascertain where new missionary stations might be established, and I believe

that if some Christian-minded physicians were sent into Khorassaun, they might become eminently useful, for, since the invasion of Affghanistaun by the British army, the people of Khorassaun are rejoiced when they see an Englishman. I was frequently asked for copies of the Bible; and in the cities of Semnaan, Damghan, Nishapoor, and Meshed, I was invited to open discussions about religion with the chief mullahs. The chief mullahs of Meshed sent actually presents of turquoises after me through Colonel Sheil, when I had left the country. Writings published against Muhammedanism, by the late missionary, Mr. Pfander, are read at Meshed and Nishapoor with eagerness. I therefore would advise persons to send Christian physicians to Semnan, Sharoot, and Meshed, to labour there among Muhammedans; and Jewish missionaries ought to be sent to the Jews of Mazanderaun. Dr. Thompson, at Damascus, who is sometimes visited by three thousand persons, as I was informed, has sufficiently proved the utility of a Christian physician among Muhammedans.

There are also, in Khorassaun, several mines, and the Assaff-ood-Dowla wishes to obtain miners from England. If, therefore, some persons of respectability, acquainted with mining, could be sent, they would prove highly useful.

From Khorassaun, missionaries might easily ex-

tend their influence, accompanied by Jews, to the deserts of Sarakhs, Merw, Akhal, and Khiva. Missionaries to Jews, as well as to Muhammedans, in the cities of Khokand, Hasrat-Sultan, or Tūrkistaun, and Tashkand, would be hospitably received; for neither the Jews nor Muhammedans of those towns are bigoted or intolerant. It is also remarkable that in Shamay, in Chinese Tartary, a colony of Polish Jews is found, amounting to three hundred families, who would hail the arrival of English people with delight, as I was assured by some of them whom I met at Bokhara. Yarkand is another city where a missionary to the Jews, as well as Muhammedans, would be of the greatest use, and also Cashgar and Eele. In the latter city, caravans from Russia deposit their merchandize. From Khokand, Tashkand, Tūrkistaun, and Cashgar, Bibles might be sent into Thibet and Cashmeer. The people of Thibet are also partially acquainted with the art of printing; if, therefore, printers and lithographers were sent to those parts, it might tend to further the promotion of the Gospel of Christ.

The question will be asked, "Could a mission be erected at Bokhara?" I reply, "Not under the present Ameer, for he is too capricious a tyrant, and though he has an ardent desire of knowing everything, and gathers around him strangers, yet he does not allow them free egress and regress." In conse-

quence, no respectable person will go there, and as long as Abdul Samut Khan is with him, Europeans would certainly perish. However, the son of the Ameer gives some hopes of being a better man than his father; on his accession to the throne a mission may be established.

The following places would be the best adapted for missions for Jews, Heathens, and Muhammedans: Khokand, Cashmeer, Ladack, and Lassa. The following languages would be absolutely necessary: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Hindūstanese, Hebrew, and the Kalmuck. The following sciences and arts would be useful: medicine, astronomy, sacred and profane history, watchmaking and engineering. Missionaries might also make excursions from the above-mentioned places to the Kasaks, Ghirgese, Kafir Seeah Poosh, and to the tribes of Naphtali and Ashur, in the Hindū-Cush.

I think that a missionary in these countries should put on the garb of a derveesh, and take a cottage outside the town, when thousands would crowd around him to hear his wisdom. He must use hospitality, bring forth to the stranger bread and sherbet, pour rose-water on his head, present him with a rose, and delight him with the song of the nightingale. If he is distant in manner, no soul will come near him. They ought to be missionaries like Schauffler, Goodell, Dwight, Benjamin, Peabody, Bliss, Dr.

Grant, Dr. Wilson, and Duff. For though I essentially differ with those gentlemen with regard to Church government, I highly esteem their zeal, judgment, kindheartedness, and perseverance. They are men not only willing to learn, but also to teach. Or if missionaries of the Episcopal Church be sent, they ought to be like my late lamented friend, the Rev. Mr. Leeves, Chaplain of Athens, or the Rev. Mr. Hill, American Episcopal Missionary at Athens.

A few words more to the Missionary Societies. It often struck me that the Missionary Societies never thought of sending missionaries to the inhabitants of the Desert, though it may be done very easily. 1st. It might easily be effected in the Desert around Mount Sinai, by stationing a missionary either in the Convent of St. Catherine, situated upon Mount Horeb, where the monks for a small remuneration would give him board and lodging; or by building a missionary-house in the small village called *Tor*, the ancient Elim, whence he might make visits to the Bedūeens of Akaba. 2nd. Another might be stationed at Suez and Casseir. 3rd. Another at Karak, where there is a Christian settlement and where Origen taught. 4th. Missionaries might be placed at Loheya, Hodeydah, Corfooda, and Zubeyd in Yemen on the coast of the Red Sea. 5th. Even in the interior of Yemen near the city of Tayef, a missionary would find protection from the mighty

Sheikhs of the Desert, since my friend Monsieur Botta, actual French consul at Mosul, has found most efficient protection from them in his physiological researches; and especially the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, ought to send missionaries to the Coptic and Abyssinian converts. Those missionaries ought to enter as members of the Order, and thus try to benefit their fellow monks: by example and word Philip Melancthon sent young men to Rome who entered the Convent over which Ignatius Loyola presided, in order to convert the inmates to Protestantism.

A Sooffee called on me while at Meshed, and said, "Youssuff Wolff, do you think that religion is necessary to a wise man?" I replied, "My dear friend, he only is a wise man who feels and is convinced that religion is the only means of giving support to helpless nature; and all the sages of every age have taught us, with one consent, that knowledge which has only for its object terrestrial things is not worthy of that name. And understand, that God manifests himself to the heart, and hides Himself from those who seek Him with their reason only. Faith, and obedience to God's laws, are wings of the soul, by which it is able to soar up to God's presence; and whenever human nature decays and degenerates, divine knowledge disappears."

Sooffee. What do you think of our Prophet Muhammed, and of his religion?

W. Muhammed is a Prophet without miracles, and therefore a false one. His system is a faith without mysteries, and therefore not a divine one; and a morality without love, and therefore a devilish morality. Christianity takes hold of the heart, in order to make it better; Muhammedanism takes hold of the heart, in order to make it worse.

After we had stopped at Meshed for twenty-one days, another Gholam arrived for me with letters from Colonel Sheil.

The name of that Gholam was Ameer Beyk, who, in the year 1838, was seized by the Tūrkomauns in carrying dispatches for Sir John Mc Neil from Colonel Stoddart, at Heraut. He tried to escape twice from Khiva; the second time he was brought back, and had his ears cropped close to his head. He was afterwards purchased by Abbot, and he enjoys a pension from the British Government for the loss of his ears. He is not a Muhammedan, but a Daoodee, *i. e.* of a sect who believe that King David was a God. He was of very great use to me. We set out, together with Abbas Kouli Khan, the two Bokhara Ambassadors, and Mullah Mehdee the Jew, for Teheraun. The Jews of Meshed and many Muhammedans accompanied me out of town.

We stopped the first day at Askerea, a village belonging to Mirza Askeree, the Imam Ajooma of Meshed. It contains about twenty houses, and is about five English miles from Meshed.

From thence we proceeded to Shereef-Abad, a place where, fourteen years ago, I was obliged to remain for several days, on account of the wandering Hazarah, a Mogul tribe who reside near Heraut, and invaded at that time Khorassaun, in order to make slaves. Now Shereef-Abad contains about twenty houses, and is situated between two mountains, and is very cold. A messenger came there from the Assaff-ood-Dowla to welcome me, and made me a present of a shawl. The two Ambassadors from Bokhara—the one who was to accompany me to England, and the other who was sent to Muhammed Shah—were quite surprised that the Assaff paid to me such attention. From Shereef-Abad we continued our journey to Kadam-Gah, which means, Place of the Foot,—for the foot-print of Imaum Resa, the patron saint of Meshed and Khorassaun, is still pointed out there; and it is therefore a famous place of pilgrimage for the Muhammedans. The inhabitants of that place are descendants of the family of Muhammed; and therefore they cannot be forced by Government to entertain a stranger; but they treated me both times with great respect and hospitality, and many of them wished me to send to them the Gospel. Several of them asked me seriously, "When will the English come and take this country?"

Kadam-Gah contains also a strong castle. From

Kadam-Gah we arrived at Nishapore, twenty miles distant from the former place, considered, after Balkh, in their traditions, the most ancient town in the world, and it was formerly the place of residency of the King. There are several iron mines in this place. It was destroyed by Tamerlane. It contains numerous mines, and the surrounding country is most lovely.

We proceeded thence to Sabz-Awar, which contains about six thousand inhabitants, and a good many shops. When I was there on my way to Bokhara, a rumour was spread that I was two hundred years of age, and acquainted with all the sciences upon earth; so that the whole town naturally rushed out to look on such a prodigy. When I told them that I was only forty-eight, they declared me to be a great liar. However, on my second arrival, I was again visited by crowds of Mussulmans, among whom was a chief mullah, who considered me to be a Prophet, for I told him on my way to Bokhara, that, previous to the coming of our Lord Jesus, there would be earthquakes in Khorassaun and all over the world. And as a terrible earthquake—of which I have given a description—actually happened, it was considered as a part of my prediction. Even some of them declared me to be Baba Elias, a celebrated derveesh. I contradicted none of these rumours, for it is useless to attempt it. Khorassaun rings with the praises of Sir John Mc Neill and Sir John Campbell.

From Sabz-Awar we proceeded to Massanan, which has a fine caravanseray, built by Shah Abbas. It has excellent wells, and is highly cultivated. They have there several guns, on account of the Türkomauns, whenever they come from Astarabad to make Chapow.

Thence we passed to Abbas-Abad, inhabited by descendants of Georgians, brought there from Tiflis by Shah Abbas. They have many privileges peculiar to the place, confirmed by firmauns from Shah Abbas, Nadir Shah, Abbas Mirza, and Muhammed Shah. They profess now the Muhammedan religion, except fifteen families of them, who are, in secret, Christians.

We then proceeded to Miyandasht, a little place built by the present King of Persia: and from thence to Miyamey, a beautiful caravanseray. Here Dr. Cormick died, who was an Irish gentleman, and favourite physician to Abbas Mirza. He was an excellent but eccentric man. He was married to a Georgian by the famous Henry Martin, and, strange to say, never acknowledged it: but after his death, his wife produced a certificate from Henry Martin, proving that she was married to him. Dr. Cormick resided at Tabreez with Abbas Mirza. When Abbas Mirza marched toward Khorassaun, he left Dr. Cormick at Tabreez; but when the Prince saw that his stay in Khorassaun would be prolonged, he wrote to

Dr. Cormick to join him. He obeyed; but arriving at Miyamey, he was seized with a violent fever, which killed him in twelve hours. He left about twenty thousand pounds for his wife and children. When Abbas Mirza was informed of the death of his medical friend, he said, "Now all is over with me—I shall soon follow;" and His Royal Highness died a few weeks after.

During our journey on to Teheraun, Sabhan Ullah Khan, Ambassador of the King of Bokhara to Muhammed Shah, came every day to me, for I had taken up my quarters at a distance from the rest, being too much indisposed to see any one. My mind was overpowered with despondency and melancholy. I was bled almost every other day, and took a medicine which they have in Khorassaun called Sheer-khishk, a kind of powerful manna. I scarcely had strength enough to talk. On the route the following kind letter reached me from Colonel Sheil:

My dear Sir, Oct. 18.

As the person who brought your note is returning, I write to say that I am happy to find you will reach Tehran in three days, and that your appetite and strength are increasing.

Should you require bleeding, any village barber is competent to the performance of the operation.

Your old quarters are ready for you.

Very truly yours,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

Sabhan Ullah Khan continued to come every day to see me, and on one occasion he spoke to me in the following manner: "I can assure you also of what the Kazi Kelaun has told you, and I know it, that Stoddart and Conolly were put to death at the instigation of Abdul Samut Khan. He was the mediator between Hasrat and them."

I arrived next at Shah-Rood, River of the King. Stoddart's name is well remembered here. They call him the *Rasheed*, the Brave Man.

Our next point was Deh-Mullah, one of Sultan Mahmoud's villages; but it has beautiful gardens. Thence we passed to Damghan, a most ancient town in great part ruinous. There are poisonous bugs here which kill strangers. We then reached Dowlat-Abad and Aghwan, and at last Semnan, where a room was given to me in the palace of the Prince Governor, who was absent at the time of my visit. These beautiful palaces sink here to ruin, for as the Governors do not know how long they may be allowed to remain, they think it scarcely worth while to improve their dwellings. Jews from Mazanderaun called on me here. They are better off than in other parts of Persia, and the Persians relate of the Jews of Mazanderaun, that they are almost better off than the Muhammedans, for they blacken twice a day their beards with henna.

We arrived next at Lasgird, a place with a most

ancient castle, said to be built by the Deevs (fairies). Thence to Deh Namak, Pah-Deh, and Kish-Lagh, where I met a horse sent after me by Colonel Sheil, and soon after the excellent Mr. Reed came to welcome me, and Mr. Karapet, an Armenian, who was the apothecary in the British Residency; and at last we arrived at Teheraun, where I met with a hospitable reception by Colonel Sheil, the British Envoy.

I also met there with Messrs. Thomson and Glen, the Attachés to the Embassy, and Mr. Abbot, the British Consul. As the King and His Majesty's Prime Minister were going out hunting, Colonel Sheil and the Attachés accompanied them, whilst I remained at the Embassy and received the visit of Monsieur le Comte Sartiges, Chargé d'Affaires to the King of the French, who was sent there in order to effect the reinstatement of the Lazarists in Persia. I spoke to him, that he should write in my name to the King of the French, that I ardently wished that France should join England in the endeavour to effect the liberation of the two hundred thousand Persian slaves in Bokhara. He also told me that it was considered great courage on my part to address a letter to all the European Powers from the city of Bokhara in behalf of the slaves. I also received a visit from the French Lazariste, Monsieur Clusel, who appeared to me to be a very zealous man. The Lazaristes were established by that ardent philan-

thropist Vincent de Paul, who sighed in slavery at Tunis, whence he escaped with his master, whom he had converted to the Christian faith. Monsieur Clusel intends to establish his mission at Teheraun, or Isfahan.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Dr. Wolff preaches at the Embassy. Noble Conduct of Count Medem. Colonel Sheil refuses to return the Letter of Lord Ellenborough. Kindness of the Russian Embassy. Khosrow Khan. Dr. Wolff writes to the Ameer. Reception by the Shah. Dr. Wolff thanks His Majesty for his Life. His Life twice preserved by the Court of Persia. Autograph of the Shah. Mullah Bahram, the Gueber. Colonel Sheil demands the Date of the Execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly; Dr. Wolff gives 1258 Hejirah: Abbas Kouli Khan thinks it was 1259. Dr. Wolff, on further reflection, coincides with Abbas Kouli Khan. Persia could not under existing circumstances take Bokhara. Mirza Abdul Wahab. Letter of Abbas Kouli Khan to Lady Georgiana Wolff. Kindness of the Embassy to Dr. Wolff. Armenian Church. Recourse had to the Russian Embassy, and not to the British, by the Protestant Missionaries. Count Medem visits Abbas Kouli Khan, and thanks him for his Kindness to Dr. Wolff. Visit of Dr. Wolff to the Haje, the Prime Minister of the Shah; their Conversation. Haje Ibrahim demands six thousand Tillahs; Dr. Wolff takes an Oath that he never received this Sum; Dr. Wolff pays him three thousand Tillahs, and draws on Captain Grover for four hundred Pounds. Haje Ibrahim claims three thousand Tillahs as due from Conolly; Dr. Wolff protests against this Payment, and thinks Colonel Sheil ought to have refused to pay Haje Ibrahim anything for either himself or Captain Conolly. Inexplicable Conduct of Colonel Sheil. Letter from the Queen to the King of Bokhara. Visit to Haje Baba.

Now I may write again dates, for, having arrived at Teheraun, which is the Rages of Tobit, I was informed that it was the 3rd of November. On the 4th of November, Colonel Sheil allowed me to preach in the Embassy, though he himself, being a Roman Catholic, did not come.

Count Medem, the Russian Ambassador, behaved most nobly towards me. He not only invited me to preach in his house in German, on which occasion His Excellency and all his Attachés attended; but he also made me a present of two shawls, and gave me a public dinner, to which he invited Colonel Sheil, all the British Attachés, Count Sartiges, Abbas Kouli Khan, Monsieur Labat, the King's Physician, &c.; and during my stay at Bokhara, he wrote to Count Nesselrode about me. Count Sartiges gave also a public dinner to me, to which he invited the British Embassy.

I must here remark, that, having been very unwell at Meshed, I sent on before me to Colonel Sheil Lord Ellenborough's letter, given to me by the Ameer of Bokhara, and other documents from Conolly to the Ameer. A few days after my arrival at Teheraun, when Colonel Sheil came back from the sporting expedition, and he was in his office, I wrote to him from my room, on a piece of paper:

Dear Sir,

Would you be kind enough to give me back Lord Ellenborough's letter, and the other documents of Conolly.

And sent the note by his servant, to which he wrote in his own hand writing, upon a piece of paper, the following answer, which I have still in my possession:

Lord Ellenborough's letter is the property of Government, as well as all other official documents.

As I dislike to create any dissension, I of course submitted to his judgment; and, beside this, I did not wish to be embroiled with the Government at home. I cannot also but remark, that the kindness shown to me by the Russian Ambassador at Teheraun, was unbounded; so much so, that even Mullah Mehdee, the Jew, and persons in authority at Teheraun, observed that "The Russians are by far kinder to you than your own people, the English." I have good authority to say that, had I been a Russian subject, the Russian Government would not have suffered me to pay one farthing to Abdul Samut Khan's brother.

But Colonel Sheil, beside that, did not send forward to Captain Grover the note of Sir R. Shakespeare which accompanied Lord Ellenborough's letter.

I have already mentioned that I had a friend at Teheraun, whose name is Khosrow Khan, chief eunuch to Futt Ali Shah. He occupied several high functions under that monarch, as, for instance, the place of Governor of Isfahan, and at another time Geelaun; but now, being out of favour with the Haje, is out of favour with the King. On my first arrival at Teheraun, he called on me, but as Colonel Sheil did not come to see him in my room, he refused to call

on my second visit, and therefore I called on him. He is, like all the Georgians, secretly attached to the Christian religion, but he is somewhat of a Swedenborgian. He always affects to see some saint of olden time. When I last saw him, he told me with great earnestness that he had lately seen, and even conversed with, Samuel the Prophet, who had a little beard, completely white, and beautiful blue eyes, and that he was a man of powerful figure, but low. He also saw Moses, who had a most powerful voice, and had a great resemblance in his outward appearance to the late King, Futt Ali Shah. He never smiled, he said, and was greatly incensed at the ingratitude of the Jews towards him.

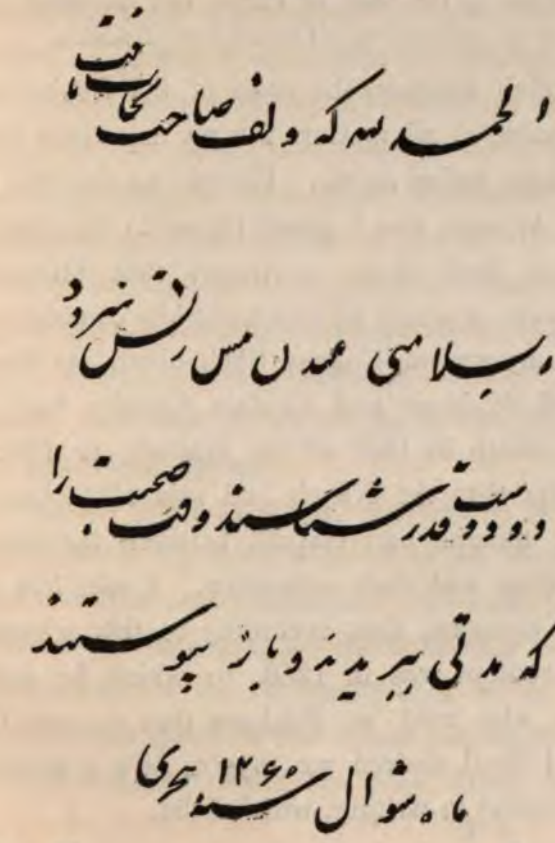
I took the opportunity while here of writing a full account to the Ameer of Bokhara, of my notions of his own conduct, and a complete exposure of the villany of Abdul Samut Khan.

My reception by the Shah was most gracious. When I entered the presence of the Shah, introduced by Mr. Thomson, he smilingly said, "Now you have enough of Bokhara: you will not go again to that city in a hurry." I replied, "Twice have I been saved from danger by the gracious assistance of the Persian Government. Twelve years ago, from the hands of Muhammed Khan Kerahe, by Your Majesty's father, and from the Ameer of Bokhara by Your Majesty." He then asked me why

I had cut off my beard? I told His Majesty that it had given me too much trouble, on which he laughed heartily. I also requested His Majesty to give me his autograph, upon which he wrote the following lines, of which I give the autograph and translation.

Autograph of His Majesty the King of Persia.

(Given to the Rev. Dr. Wolff, after his return from Bokhara to Teheraun, 30th October, 1844.)



This is the translation which Mr. Thomson made for me:

Translation of an Autograph of Muhammed Shah.

Praise be to God, Mr. Wolff is rescued, and may he go in safety to London to his wife.

Verse.

Two friends know each other's worth when their intercourse has been interrupted for some time, and they again meet.

The month of Shevval, 1260 of the Hejireh.

Written by the Shah of Persia, and presented to Dr. Wolff, at his audience on his return from Bokhara.

Mullah Bahram, the chief of the Guebers, and who managed all matters for my departure twelve years ago, called on me. He told me that the Haje Mirza Aghasee was a great friend to the Guebers, and had built them a village, four miles from Teheraun, of which he had made him overseer.

On my arrival, Colonel Sheil asked me whether Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly had been put to death in 1259 of the Hejirah, or 1258. I told him that the Nayeb had said 1259, but that twenty months had elapsed between the time of my arrival and their execution. I told him on a second occasion, that according to this calculation the execution was in 1258, to which he agreed. Others also said at Bokhara that it was 1258. Colonel Sheil desired me to give him a statement to that effect in writing, which I did.

On leaving, however, for Tabreez, Abbas Kouli Khan and myself had some conversation on this subject, and he then said, "I made most accurate inquiries, pursuant to my official instructions. You may depend upon it that the information I have obtained about their execution is more correct than your own. Stoddart and Conolly were put to death eleven months before your arrival." He then emphatically added, "They were put to death, as the Nayeb told you at the first, in the year 1259, and not 1258." And as it is certain that Shakspeare's note, with the letter of Lord Ellenborough, arrived before their execution, the information of Abbas Kouli Khan, and the first official statement of the King and Abdul Samut Khan, is correct. I therefore regretted that I gave the paper to Colonel Sheil, which should not have been demanded from me when I was in a state of the greatest excitement, ill and miserable, and attended by Dr. Kade, the physician of the Russian Embassy.

It may be asked, If Persia proceeds to Bokhara alone, without the assistance of either Russia or England, will she take Bokhara? My reply is, Her success is very doubtful, for the following reasons. First, it could only be effectually done by an order and full power given to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, but the Assaff-ood-Dowla and the Haje Mirza Agasee

are deadly enemies, and each jealous of the other; so that they would counteract each other, as they did during the siege of Heraut. Besides this, the officers themselves are very jealous of each other. They would agree to no general combined plan, and therefore they would mutually betray each other's plans to the Ameer of Bokhara. Also Muhammed Shah is afraid of the Assaff-ood-Dowla, and I know for a certainty, upon the best authority, that the King has a most well-founded suspicion that the Assaff-ood-Dowla entertains the design of making himself, if not King of all Persia, at least of Khorassaun.

I must here observe, that I paid at Teheraun thirty tomauns to Mirza Abdul Wahab, the painter, for his work for me. For though the Nayeb included him in his account, he had not in reality given him one single farthing.

I must here repeat, that the kindness of Count Medem, the Russian ambassador, can never be obliterated from my memory. He gave a public dinner on my arrival, to which he invited Colonel Sheil, the entire British Embassy, and Abbas Kouli Khan. Abbas Kouli Khan also made me a present of two Cashmeer shawls for Lady Georgiana. He also sent to her the following kind and truly Eastern letter.

Mirza Abdul Wahab delt

ABBAS KOULI KHAN.

PERSIAN AMBASSADOR TO BOKHARA.

Translation of a Letter from the Persian Envoy to Bokhara to the Lady Georgiana Wolff.

May my exalted and esteemed sister, whose station is as that of Bilbeis (Queen of Sheba), the respected and dear lady of my friend and brother, the Reverend Joseph Wolff, enjoy good health. Five months ago, according to the desire of His Excellency the Doctor, I addressed a letter to you, my esteemed sister, and I assured you that I would bring with me, with honour and respect, and in perfect safety, my friend and brother the Doctor. Praise be to God, praise be to God, praise be to God, eight days previous to the date of this, which is the 16th Shevval, I brought him to Teheraun. I give praise and I am thankful to God, that I have had no cause to be ashamed before you, my sister. The gentleman will himself, please God, arrive soon in London, and he will acquaint you, my sister, verbally, with what has occurred. You will then perceive how I have acted as a brother. I hope that you, my respected sister, will not forget me. May your letters always reach me in Persia.

(Signed) ABBAS KOULI KHAN, KOORD,
Sirteeb (*Colonel*).

16th Shevval, 1260.

Count Medem invited me to preach in his house, as I have said, in German, before the entire Russian Embassy, proffered pecuniary assistance, which I declined, to send on his own Gholam to Tabreez, and recommended me to all the Russian authorities and to his Imperial Master. However, I must say that Mr. Thomson and the excellent Mr. Reed were exceedingly kind to me, as well as Mrs. Reed; and I must also say, that Messrs. Thomson, Glen, and

Abbott rendered me every assistance in their power.

I now proceed to speak of the Armenians. Hoannes Surrenno Krimetzki, Archbishop of Julfa, Hindūstaun, and Teheraun, called on me, covered with Russian orders. He is a venerable old gentleman, and anxious to improve the Armenian nation. He has established a school at Julfa, where the Armenian boys are instructed in the English, French, and Armenian tongues. He receives contributions for that purpose from Russia, Armenia, and from the Armenians of Hindūstaun and Yava. "I was frequently advised to send Armenian youths to England and France," he observed; "but the danger in sending them there is: 1st, that they forget their own language; 2nd, they become spoiled by good living; and then return discontented with their own country. I thought it therefore more advisable to instruct them in their own country in foreign sciences, where, at the same time, they do not forget their own language, and put up with the hardships of their countrymen."

The Eastern churches have deacons in the most scriptural sense of the word, for they are chosen by the people, consecrated by the bishops, and they are seldom allowed to preach, but have simply to raise alms, to provide for the poor and sick, and to make arrangements for the internal management of the

churches. This occupation of the deacons is obviously derived by the Apostles from the Jewish synagogue. I must also observe, that there is far greater liberality and licence in preaching in the Eastern and Roman Catholic churches than in the British. It is a fact, that, in the Eastern, as well as Roman Catholic communities, simple laymen, without ordination at all, are allowed to preach in the church, with the especial licence of the bishop. Thus, for example, Ignatius Loyola, and the Jesuits, preached without ordination, on the simple permission of the Pope.

It must be observed, that Count Medem gives most efficient protection to the Armenians throughout Persia, and also to the Chaldeans, residing in Oroomiah; and when the Chaldean Nestorians of that place were oppressed by the Roman Catholic missionaries, he put a stop to it. The Protestant missionaries of Oroomiah are also protected, and they recur to the Russian Embassy for protection in case of need. Formerly they had recourse to the British Embassy.

I was delighted to perceive that Count Medem called instantly on Abbas Kouli Khan, thanked him for his kindness to me, and invited him to dinner. I cannot avoid saying, that Mr. and Mrs. Reed, whom I knew in Persia fourteen years previous, form the very life of the Embassy, which would be

dulness itself without them. I must not omit to mention the kindness of General Semino; he is alluded to before in this work.

I also called on the Haje, and thanked him. He told me that it would have been well if I had waited according to his advice at Teheraun, until Abbas Kouli Khan had reached me there; for my protection would have been stronger—my suffering less. This Persian Wolsey is very fond, as our own was, of building palaces and also villages. When the former Ambassador from Bokhara left Teheraun, he sent word to the Ameer: "How can the Ameer dream of making war with Khiva? Khiva belongs to me!" He evidently does not like the English; and he once made the following observation to an English gentleman, whose name I forbear to mention: "I know your English fashion. You first of all send a physician to a country to feel our pulse, and afterwards a surgeon to bleed us to death; and then officers follow, and they dispose of our land as the others have done of our bodies."

Previous to my departure, Haje Ibrahim, brother to Abdul Samut Khan, arrived for the six thousand tillahs. I took an oath that I never received three thousand tillahs of this amount; and though of the three thousand tillahs entrusted to me, above six hundred were partly stolen on the road, and partly went on account of the Nayeb's camels, as above

mentioned, I repaid him the whole of the three thousand; to do which I was obliged to draw for four hundred pounds on my dear and excellent friend, Captain Grover. Haje Ibrahim also applied for the three thousand tillahs of Conolly; but against this I put in my protest, and I have it on the highest authority, that, had I been under the Russian flag, I should not have been called on to pay Haje Ibrahim one single farthing, and I might have got, as an indemnification, the whole of the sum entrusted to me by Abdul Samut Khan, as I was through his instigation imprisoned in Bokhara, and ill treated on the road. And Persians, as well as other personages of high importance, were surprised that Colonel Sheil did not insist upon the arrest of Haje Ibrahim, in order to hear all even the minutest circumstances of the execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, in which dark transaction Haje Ibrahim was deeply involved. Instead of which, Colonel Sheil suffered that villain to annoy me in my room, demanding twenty per cent. for the money, until I took him by the throat and turned him out. Ill, miserable, bilious, and excited, I still bore up against all; but these things soon had issue in a dangerous and delirious illness on my arrival at Tabreez, in the house of the excellent Mr. Bonham. But of this more hereafter. I have only here to add, that if Government pays the

debt of Conolly to Abdul Samut Khan, they will pay a premium to that villain for the murder of other Englishmen, and for the robbery of their fellow-citizens.

One thing appeared to me very extraordinary; that Colonel Sheil said to me, in the presence of Mr. Glen and Mr. Thomson, that he would recommend Government to pay to Abdul Samut Khan, one hundred tillahs for the letter of Lord Ellenborough. I asked why? For according to Shakespeare's note, the one hundred tillahs were to be paid to the bearer after he had brought an answer from the Ameer to the Governor-General. Now, not only was no answer given, but, as shown above, the letter was not delivered to the Ameer until after my arrival. I here say, such conduct is utterly inexplicable.

I met at Teheraun Mr. L'Abbé Clusel, of the Lazarist order, who was sent as missionary to Persia by the Propaganda. He seems to me a man of zeal and piety.

I told Colonel Sheil, one day, that a letter had arrived from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and inquired why the King of Bokhara had not received it. All the answer I received from Colonel Sheil, in the presence of Mr. Thomson, was, "You are not at liberty to say that a letter has come from Her Majesty or not."

Before quitting Teheraun, I called on Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, the Haje Baba of Morier, and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Court of Persia. Haje, though looking older, is cheerfulness itself.

CHAPTER XXV.

Departure from Teheraun. *Route*—Kand; Sunghur-Abad; Sepher-Khoja. Meeting here with Assaad Ullah Beyk. *Route*—Casween; Sultanieh; Sanjoon; Gul Teppa. Illness of Dr. Wolff. Kind Reception of Dr. Wolff at Tabreez by Mr. Bonham; his Treatment by Dr. Casolani. Mr. Osroff and the Russian Legation. Introduction of Dr. Wolff by Mr. Bonham to Prince Bahman Mirza. The Prince presents Dr. Wolff with a valuable Emerald Ring. Letter of Prince Bahman Mirza. Russian Inhabitants of Tabreez consider it disgraceful to the British Government to permit the Stoddart and Conolly Affair to rest in its present position. Extracts showing the exact Position of these Diplomatic Agents. First, from Captain I. Conolly, Brother to the murdered Captain Conolly; Second, Extracts from the Correspondence of Colonel Stoddart. Third, Extract from the Journal of Captain Conolly. Impolicy of Non-Interference. Holy Places visited by Persians. Dispute between Turks and Persians on Frontier Question. Colonel Taylor and Major Rawlinson. Disciples of John the Baptist; their singular History; their Report of themselves that they are Descendants of the Chaldeans and of the Brothers of Abraham. Triple Name of God. Baptism of John in the Wilderness. Two kinds of Priests; one the Representative of the Baptist, the other of the Christ. Their Book, the *Sadra Raba;* reported Authors of it, Seth and John the Baptist; their Residences. Fruitless Attempts of Father Agatangelos to convert the Mandaye or Disciples of John the Baptist. Dr. Wolff, however, establishes a School which the Son of even the Ganz Awra, or Representative of Jesus Christ, attends; they affirm Boohyra to have been a Nestorian Monk; also that they emigrated from Egypt with the Jews, and separated from them on the Institution of the Rite of Circumcision by Joshua; their Language Chaldean. The Ganz Awra has his Right Hand cut off by order of the Governor of Bosra; he maintained that numbers of their Sect were resident in Morocco. Catholicity shown to be a natural Principle from the Conduct of Sectarians.

On the 7th November I left Teheraun, accompanied by Abbas Kouli Khan, Messrs. Taylor, Thomson, Glen, Abbot, Reed, Carapied, and the Russian

Attachés. Previous to my departure, Count Medem called at the British Embassy, and took leave. I arrived that day at Kand, nine miles from Teheraun. It is a beautiful village, with gardens. On the 8th of November we came to Sunghur-Abad, thirty-eight miles from Teheraun. It belongs to Haje Mirza Aghasee.

On the 9th of November we reached Sepher-Khoja. A curious incident happened when I arrived. Assaad Ullah Beyk, who, when I was at Bokhara, was slave to Abdul Samut Khan, also arrived in this village. He ransomed himself for ninety tillahs, though the Nayeb had never bought him; and besides all this, the poor fellow was obliged to give him a shawl worth one hundred tillahs. I confess that I supposed him acquainted with the Nayeb's design to kill me by assassins, and that I believed him to be one of them; but he quickly undeceived and assured me, that Abdul Samut Khan had not treated him better than me. Assaad Ullah Beyk was now the Shah's Chaparee (postman), and was going to collect money at Khoy.

November 10th. Reached Casween with Mullah Mehdee,—an immense town; but, on account of lack of water, and of the plague, thinly inhabited. Formerly, numerous Jews dwelt there, who were transported to Sabzawar, Nishapoor, and Torbad in Khorassaun. It was formerly a royal residence

The Governor, a very kind man, received me in his house, and treated me most hospitably. On November 14th we reached Sultanieh, built by the Shah Khoda Banda. A splendid mausoleum is here.

On the 18th of November I arrived at Sanjoon, built, according to Jewish tradition, by Ahasuerus. There is a Georgian there, Yakoob Khan by name, who is in the service of the Persian army, and occupies the situation of Colonel. He practices secretly the Christian religion, and has all his children baptized; and as his wife was just confined he requested me to baptize the child, which I did; and Mullah Mehdee, my baptized convert, was godfather. I pressed upon Yakoob Khan the duty of confessing the name of Christ publicly; upon which he begged me to recommend him to the Queen of England, in order to be made a Colonel in the British army. Then he said he would immediately go to England, profess openly Christianity in the Colonel's uniform, and sword in hand. I could not give him any encouragement. I found there another young Georgian, who told me, if I did not take him on to England, and put him in the way to make money, he would turn Mussulman in spite of me. I told him he was welcome to do so.

On the 20th we arrived at Gul-Teppa. On the road towards that place I met with the American missionaries, Perkins and Stocking. I asked them

where they came from. Mr. Perkins said, "You are Dr. Wolff, I guess." Stocking said, "Yes, I know him: it is Dr. Wolff, if I guess right." We were not able to talk much, from the heavy fall of snow.

On the 24th of November I was taken so ill on horseback, that I vomited immensely, and was also seized with a terrible shivering; I therefore sent immediately the Gholam of Colonel Sheil, who accompanied me, to Tabreez, to Mr. Bonham, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General. As he had no Takhtrawan (litter) himself, he procured me that of one of the principal Armenians of Tabreez. Mr. Bonham, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General, and his most amiable lady, received me not only with hospitality, but with great cordiality. I baptized their child, born while I was at Bokhara. Through the kind care of Dr. Casolani, the medical gentleman of Prince Bahman Mirza, I was partially restored to health. After which Mr. Bonham gave a public dinner on my account, to which he invited Monsieur Osroff, and the Russian Attachés, and all the Greek and Armenian gentlemen. Mr. Osroff gave a dinner in return, and told me that he had orders from his Government to give me every assistance in case that I intended to go "*vid* Russia." Mr. Osroff also told me that he had been private secretary to Prince Galitzin, late Minister of Public Instruc-

tion; and in perusing the private correspondence of that statesman, he frequently met with my name, and an honourable description of my pursuits.

I also was introduced by Mr. Bonham to His Royal Highness Bahman Mirza, Prince Governor of Tabreez and the whole province of Azerbijan. He is brother to the present King. He wrote for me the following autograph, of which I subjoin, from its length, the translation only; and he also made me a present of an emerald ring, worth thirty pounds.

Translation of a Letter from His Royal Highness Bahman Mirza, Prince Governor of the Province of Azerbijan, Persia, addressed to the Rev. Dr. J. Wolff, LL.D. &c.

As at the time of the victory and dominion of the army of the great state of England in the Affghaun countries, two officers of that magnificent and powerful monarchy were lost at the seat of Government of Bokhara, and there were no signs of them; in the year of the Hijrah 1259, His Excellency, endowed with acuteness and knowledge, a chief among the nobles of the Christians, and a pillar among the learned of the religion of the Messiah, Priest Joseph Wolff, who belongs to the great and noble of that religion, and who is familiar and acquainted with every language,—the excess of his learning, and the extremity of his magnanimity and research, outweighing in this business the sacrificing of his life and property,—that he might arrive at the truth of this news, he accounted the trouble of this very dangerous journey, in which the first step is taking leave of life, more agreeable than remaining at ease. And in this long journey, which in every road of it, from the brigands of the tribes of Yemout and Türkomaun, and of the Septs, with crooked languages, of Tartary, may be

considered as going out of the world, he trusted his own single person to the step of diligence, until, after a thousand kinds of afflictions, he accomplished the object which he had. In truth, undergoing such hardships is beyond the endurance of every one. Now that in the latter end of the year of the Hijrah 1260, he has returned, and arrived at the seat of Government of Tabreez, it was necessary for us to write an account of the extent of his hardships, which we have seen and heard of, in this our own hand writing, that in every state and in every country it may tend to the increase of his consideration and honour. And we further order the governors and lords, and nobles and chiefs of the country of Azerbijan, at every station and in all journeys at the time of his passing, to take care of the aforesaid priest, and treat him with kindness and honour. Also, if after this he returns to Azerbijan, they must act according to this order.

Written in the month of Zeekada, A.H. 1260, answering to, from 12th Nov. to 11th Dec., A.D. 1844.

The Russian inhabitants of Tabreez, as well as Greeks, together with the English, observed that it would be a perfect disgrace for the British Government to let the matter of the murder of Stoddart and Conolly sleep, as there was no doubt that they were both political agents, sent by Government, and that Conolly went to Bokhara by direction of Colonel Stoddart. To prove that this notion is correct, I give:

I. Extracts from a letter of Captain J. Conolly, brother to the deceased officer, to a relative.

Arthur starts in a few days for Kokan. His mission will be an interesting one, and the objects of it you

will learn by reading a correspondence which Arthur intends sending you. * * * * * *

The fortunate Envoy is Arthur. His route will be across the desert to Khiva, and, if circumstances permit, to Bokhara. He has the prospect of gaining great laurels. Sir A. Burnes was first offered the appointment, but declined the embassy; and Sir William said that he could hardly dispense with his services from this place (Cabūl). Arthur will no doubt write to you shortly about his mission.

II. The following correspondence from Colonel Stoddart:

July, 1841.

Conolly returns back, you have probably read, and is likely to accompany me hence, and has been placed at my disposal, so far as calling upon him to return by this line goes.

* * * * I have availed myself of Captain Conolly's visit here to propose to the Ameer to send me off, as Captain Conolly has *orders* to stop here if the Ameer wishes.

III. I add, in this my second edition, the following extract from the Journal of Captain Conolly himself:

When I came here Stoddart did all in his power to put me forward, but as long as the Ameer detains him, I shall refer to him (as the *accredited British Agent*) every communication or business that the Ameer may make to me. He well knows the people here,—and the *dignity of our Government is safe in his hands.*

My attention has been directed to the fact that this statement negatives that of Abdul Samut Khan, in Vol. I., p. 345. I fully admit that it does, and it

only adds another lie to that miscreant's numberless delinquencies.

The above evidence is quite sufficient to prove, that it cannot conduce to the honour of the British Government to let this question slumber as it has done. Affghanistaun and Bokhara have broken through that charm that bound down the Deeves and Afrits of these regions, as powerful as the fabled virtue of the Seal of Solyman. It is well that the chivalric valour of a Napier in Sinde, a Government like Lord Ellenborough's, one meteor flash, dazzling and confounding, now startles the East; but let reverses come, and see then whether the two hundred millions of our Indian empire will not break from the charm that has bound them astance for nearly a century. The question is a matter of indifference as to *envoys* or *officers*. I am of the wise man's opinion of old: That form of Government is best, "*where an injury done to the meanest subject is an insult to the whole community.*"

He spoke of *insult:* I speak of *murder*. What country, I ask, has such facility to vindicate her honour, to preserve the life of every one of her meanest subjects, as England? To say nothing of her *officers*, her *distinguished officers*, I might add more, her—but I forbear to use that—that gives the climax to our shame. I speak not of the past; I inculpate no one; I leave that to others; but I do

demand, Can matters rest thus? Are we to allow this foul blot on the scutcheon of national honour?

The Persians here visit the following holy places: 1st. Kerbelai, near Bagdad, where Imaum Hussein is buried. 2nd. Kasèmein, near Kerbelai, where is the sepulchre of Kasem. 3rd. Meshed, where is the tomb of Imaum Resa. After a visit to these towns, a person receives the appellation of Kerbelai, Meshedee, or Kasemein. I joked frequently with them, and said, as I had been at Meshed, they ought to call me Meshedee Youssuf Wolff. But after they have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, they drop these appellations, and become Haje, like the rest of the Muhammedans.

A considerable feud now prevails between the Persians and Turks; for which reason, as I have observed, English and Russian Commissioners are at Erzroom, in order to prevent hostilities. The dispute first broke out on account of the frontiers; but it was increased by the Pasha of Bagdad sending troops to Kerbelai, and massacreing the Sheeahs of that place, which will never be forgotten. I am very sorry that Colonel Taylor's conduct, the British Consul-General at Bagdad, was disapproved of on that occasion. He was displaced for not having interfered, and prevented the Turks from marching to Kerbelai. He is an excellent man, and of astonishing learning, and a marvellous polyglott. He

knows above twenty languages. However, it seems that he placed too much reliance on his Armenian subalterns, especially Khatshik. I hope Government will give him some other post. Government has, however, greatly to their honour, sent to Bagdad a most extraordinary man. His name is Major Rawlinson, who has so distinguished himself at Candahar, and he is a great favourite with the Indian Government. He is, besides, a great Arabic, Persian, and Turkish scholar, and an ardent philanthropist. It must have been very amusing to see these two gentlemen, as I learnt they did frequently, (Colonel Taylor and Major Rawlinson,) remaining up until three in the morning, disputing about some Arabic root, as my friend Colonel Farrant related matters to me. I hear Major Rawlinson protects admirably the missionaries.

I shall never forget the kindness of Colonel Taylor, and the assistance he gave me when with him six months at Bozra, in the Persian Gulf, in making researches amongst the disciples of John the Baptist, who are called also Mandaye Hayah, *i. e.* the followers of the living God. They affect to be the descendants of the Chaldeans, and of the brothers of Abraham; and when Abraham proclaimed the unity of the one God, they relate the brothers of Abraham followed him. But when Abraham established the rite of circumcision, they looked at him with horror,

and separated from him. But they continued to worship the *one living God* by three names; the names of *Hayah Kadmaya, Hayah Tinyana, Hayah Tlitaya, i. e. the living in the first degree, the living in the second degree, the living in the third degree.* And when John the Baptist appeared, they received baptism by St. John in the Wilderness, and from that moment they have had two kinds of priests, they say, the one called the Turmeda, who is a representative of the Baptist, and the Ganz-Awra, who is the representative of Jesus Christ. And the representative of Jesus Christ is baptized every Sunday by the representative of John the Baptist in the river Frat, or Euphrates. They have a great book, called *Sadra Raba,* the authors of which, they say, were Seth and John the Baptist. They relate that John the Baptist was buried at Shuster, the ancient Susan, in Khuzistaun. They themselves reside in the following places, near the Euphrates: at Bozra, Gorno, Sook-al-Sheookh, Shustar, and Desbul. Their number amounts to six thousand. Father Agatangelos, a Roman Catholic missionary, about one hundred years ago, and whose journal was given to me in MS. by the Roman Catholic priest at Bussorah, in the year 1824, and which I have given to the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, relates that he had made fruitless attempts to convert the Mandaye to the Catholic religion; but with the kind assistance

of Colonel Taylor, I established a school at Bussorah. Even the Ganz-Awra, representative of Jesus Christ, sent his son to the school, who made great progress in English.

The poor Mandaye sing, persecuted as they are by the Muhammedans:

> We are oppressed by the circumcised.
> Departed from our eyes is the timbrel and dance.

They maintain that Boohyra, the monk at Bozra, who assisted Muhammed, and who was supposed to be a Nestorian monk by the Christian historians, was a Mandaye. They also say that, at the time when the Jews were in the captivity in Egypt, they lived with them, and were oppressed, like them, by the Egyptians; and when Pharaoh was overwhelmed in the sea, they emigrated with the children of Israel to Mount Sinai, and lived there in amity with the Jews. But when Joshua re-established the rite of circumcision, they separated from the Jews. It is very remarkable, that, in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, it is said, that a mixed multitude went out with the children of Israel; and also, according to Joshua, circumcision was neglected in the desert, and then re-established. Their language is Chaldean. The Ganz-Awra, who was my teacher in Sabæan, and also Colonel Taylor's, wrote some mysterious characters upon a part of the Governor's

wife's body usually concealed from sight, in order to form a charm to insure pregnancy; for which the Governor gave orders to cut off his right hand, and he writes therefore with his left. He maintained, that a great number of their sect were residing in the deserts of Faz and Mekanez in Morocco.

Two things are very remarkable with respect to small sects,—that they always maintain that great numbers of their body are residing in distant countries; so also the Mandaye assert, and the Samaritans at Nablooz told me the same, that great numbers of their people lived in London and Paris. And the Baptists in England rejoice very much to hear that there exists a sect on the Euphrates, who, like them, are called disciples of John the Baptist, and baptize in rivers. This anxiety on their part indicates Catholicity to be a natural and inherent principle.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Two leading Sects amid Muhammedans, Sheeahs, and Sunnees. Ball by Mr. Bonham; Dancers all Gentlemen. Death of Mrs. Bonham. Shamar Beyk; Anecdote of him and General Neidhart. Chaldeans in the Mountains of Kurdistaun, not of the Ten Tribes, Dr. Wolff thinks, as commonly asserted. Nestorians or Chaldeans; their Assertion that they did not become Followers of Nestorius, but simply received him kindly among them; Episcopacy hereditary among them; oppressed by the Kurds; Sir Stratford Canning interferes in their behalf. Mar Yohannan, Bishop of Oroomiah; his Letter, written in English. Accurate character of Mr. Ainsworth's Work on Asia Minor, &c. Armenians of Tabreez give Dr. Wolff a Public Dinner. Diploma from Bahman Mirza to Dr. Casolani. Daoud Khan. Attempt to abolish Ancient Forms by the Protestant Missionaries injudicious. Edward Burgess; his unfortunate Position; Letter addressed by him to Dr. Wolff. Departure of Dr. Wolff from Tabreez. *Route*—Mayoon; Deesa Khaleel; Tasuj; Sayd Hajee; Khoy. Dangerous travelling from this point. Robbery of Messrs. Todd and Abbott; the Kurds compel Mr. Todd to swallow his Pomatum. *Route*—Soraba; Karaine; Leyba; Awajick. Snow compels Dr. Wolff to go on Horseback. The Pasha of Erzroom sends a Guard of Honour for Dr. Wolff. Letters from Colonel Williams.

I SHALL now touch on a few points with respect also to the two leading sects among Muhammedans, the Sheeahs, and the Sunnees. The Persians being Sheeahs, practise dissimulation whenever they come into countries where the Sunnees are in power. This system of dissimulation is called by them *Takeea*. Thus, for instance, the Sheeahs pray with their arms hanging down, like a soldier when he is drilled, and add the name of Ali in their

prayers, and curse five times a day Omar, Osman, and Abu-Bekr in their prayers; but when they are among the Sunnees they perform their devotions with their hands laid upon their breast, omit the name of Ali, and take care not to curse Omar, Osman, and Abu-Bekr. A Muhammedan at Meshed told me that the Sheeahs were enjoined by Muhammed himself to practise Takeea in the presence of Sunnees. When I told him, that in Muhammed's life the distinction between Sunnee and Sheeah did not exist, he told me that Muhammed foresaw, by the spirit of prophecy, that such a distinction must arise.

Mr. Bonham gave a ball on account of my arrival. He got the band of the Prince to play European music, but the dancers were not ladies and gentlemen, but all gentlemen. The Russian Consul-General, Mr. Osroff, with all his Attachés, and the respectable Greek merchants of the house of Ralli,—a firm established at Tabreez, Constantinople, Marseilles, London, and Manchester,—were there. They put on my Tūrkomaun dresses and the robe which the Ameer of Bokhara had given me. It was a most funny sight. Mrs. Bonham kept herself in the other room, as some Persians were present.

I was sincerely grieved when I heard, after my departure, of the death of that excellent lady, who died from typhus fever, and is now removed from

us. She was one of the most pious, sensible, virtuous, and kind-hearted ladies I ever met with; exquisitely beautiful, with a child-like simplicity. She was daughter to Sir William Floyd, Bart., residing at Brussels. I shall ever remember Mr. Bonham and his sainted lady with gratitude and delight.

Previous to my departure, I heard also at Tabreez, a great deal of Shamir Beyk, a mighty chief in Daghistaun, who has risen up in battle against the mighty Emperor of Russia, and a bloody war is now carried on in that region. General Woronzoff has been sent against him; and though the conflict is obstinate, and the mountaineers supported by Polish officers, there is no doubt entertained that, at last, Shamir Beyk, though a gallant fellow, must give in to the Giant of the North. I heard a curious anecdote of this Chief and General Neidhart, Governor-General of Georgia.

General Neidhart issued a proclamation to the following purport; that whosoever would bring the head of Shamir Beyk should receive as much gold as the head weighed. Shamir Beyk, on hearing of it, sent a letter to General Neidhart, expressing to His Excellency his gratitude for the high compliment he had paid his head, by setting so high a value on it; but on his part he regretted he could not return the compliment, since he could assure His Excellency

that he would not give a straw to any one who would deliver his (General Neidhart's) head to him (Shamir Beyk).

A few words on the Chaldeans in the mountains of Kurdistaun. These Chaldeans, as the late lamented Dr. Grant well observed, are of Jewish origin, though I cannot go so far as to affirm that they are of the Ten Tribes, since they do not know their own genealogy. They are now mostly Christians, and a number of them, converted to the Roman Catholic Church, have their patriarch at Diarbekr.

The real Chaldeans, also called Nestorians, had a patriarch, Mar Shemaun by name, who resided until the last year only at Khojanes. They protest, however, that they are not Nestorians, and they said to me, in the year 1825, when I visited them at Salmast and Oroomia, "Nestorius came to us, and we received him kindly, but we never took him as our guide, but as our brother in Christ." They resemble mostly the Protestants of Germany and England, for they have neither images nor monasteries, and their priests are married. The episcopal dignity, however, is hereditary, as well as that of the Patriarch, and at the time the mother of the patriarch becomes pregnant, she abstains from drinking wine and eating meat; and in case that a son is born, he is the patriarch, and if a daughter, she is obliged to

observe eternal virginity. They are now sorely pressed by the Kurds; several thousands of them have been slain by the Kurds, and many wounded, which atrocities were committed at the instigation of the Pasha and Cazi of Mosul; but this was too much for the great Sir Stratford Canning to allow. He interfered at the Porte, and the Cazi and Pasha of Mosul were summoned to appear before the Sultan; and the gallant Colonel Farrant was sent to the Kurds to investigate matters, and Mr. Stevens, the British Vice-Consul of Samsoon, was dispatched to redeem the Chaldean slaves made by the Kurds, in which he was very successful. My excellent friends, Colonel Williams and Mr. Brant, at Erzroom, were also employed by Sir Stratford Canning to obtain the protection of the late excellent Pasha of Erzroom, for the Chaldean Christians, Haje Kamil Pasha, not only Pasha of Erzroom, but Seraskier for all Kurdistaun. And he did so effectually, but the Porte showed in that, as in everything else, her imbecility and total unfitness for Government, by recalling that excellent Pasha after my departure from Erzroom, and sending, as his successor, to Erzroom a most miserable creature.

Mar Yohannan, Bishop of Oroomia, called on me at Tabreez. He is a gentleman of much intelligence, and had learned English from the American missionaries, and has visited America. He wrote to me a

letter, which reached me in London, and which I insert just as it came.

My dear and beloved Friend, Oroomiah, March 27th, 1845.

I have much pleasure to write letters to you, but I could not find good time. I greatly desire to see you and to speak with you. I hope you will not forget me; will you remember me with your prayers in your churches, when you pray for the people? Your prayers will be a blessing to us, and will guide us to heaven; they will be light to our way. I wrote another letter for the Lord Bishop of London. If you please you will write me answer, that I may know; I want to come to your country, and to see your people. If you please I will bring with me two or three boys that may learn your language, they know little the English. My dear, we made covenant with each other at Theran that we shall go together to London; you left me at Tabreez, you went. I hope now you will send me letter about my going to your country. May the Lord bless you with all his blessings in the kingdom of heaven.

Your affectionate Friend,

MAR YOHANNAN, *Bishop of Oroomiah.*

The letter is in itself fully indicative of the simple character of these Chaldean Bishops. I am pleased to find that Mr. Ainsworth agrees with me that the Chaldeans are not Nestorians, and the details in his admirable work are such as may be fully relied on, for I have confirmed by personal experience a large portion of the matter in his highly interesting volumes, entitled, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia.*

The principal Armenians of Tabreez also gave

me a public dinner, to which the Consul-General, Mr. Bonham, and the rest of the English inhabitants of Tabreez, and the Russian Consul-General, with the Russian authorities, were invited.

I must here also express my thanks to Dr. Casolani, a Maltese physician, who recovered me from a second dangerous attack of bilious fever. Dr. Casolani is nominated Physician to the Prince Governor, Bahman Mirza, by a diploma to the following curious purport:

A Royal Order,—That since the sagacity, the acuteness, the science, the excellence of the high in dignity, exalted station, having sincerity and candour, being endowed with judgment and penetration, the great among the nobles of Christendom, Mr. Casolani, English Physician and Surgeon, has been proved in the receptacle of the honourable mind, and revealed to the illustrious and royal understanding, particularly at this time, as the cures which he has performed in this place have all been marked with wisdom and science, and the remedies which he has made use of in this country have been profitable to and effective in every constitution and temperament, it was necessary that we should attach, particularly to ourselves, a person of this kind, who was celebrated and lauded for his approved skill. Therefore, in this year of Loo-eel, of happy indication, we have enrolled the high in station above mentioned in the rank of our followers, and in reward for this service, we have granted and bestowed three hundred tomans in the way of salary to the above-mentioned high in rank; that he may receive and take it every year; that he may use it for his expenses, and spend it for his disbursements; that with tranquillity and repose he may accomplish the cure, and administer remedies, as may happen

to the Royal Chief and his princely children, and according to the extent of his skill he may be diligent in examining and considering our constitution, so that the Royal favour may daily increase.

The Honourable Secretaries of State will take a copy of the date of this Order, and consider it as obligatory.

I visited again Daoud Khan, a Colonel in the Russian service. He is a genuine Georgian, and as such is not very fond of the Armenians. He informed me what I knew before, for I was in Georgia in the year 1825, that the native Jews in Georgia are slaves to the country gentlemen of Georgia, or, as those country gentlemen are called, Kenyaz. The first of these is the Prince of Kenyaz Aristow, at Suran; the second, Kostantil, at Mukhram Battone; and the third, Prince Kalavantan, at Sekwee. I give these names, as the Jews' Society may feel disposed, probably, to send some agents there. The dignitaries in the Georgian Church have the following degrees: 1, Diacon; 2, Odeli (Priest); 3, Behse (Monk); 4, Dacanoggi (Dean); 5, Zinam Jawaree (Bishop); 6, Katalikos (Archbishop).

It will be in vain for Protestant missionaries to attempt to abolish forms among the Eastern Christians. We seem to forget that the human mind is like fluid matter, which can only attain permanency in a vessel; therefore Dr. Grant, Whiting, and Goodell, perceived that, and left all forms unaltered. I must also note here, that Dr. South-

gate, American Episcopal missionary at Constantinople, has gained the affection of the Armenian Bishop at Constantinople, by his wise conduct in this particular.

I must not forget also to name an interesting and unfortunate young gentleman at Tabreez, whose name is Edward Burgess, well acquainted with the Persian language. This excellent young gentleman is employed by Prince Bahman Mirza, as translator of the English Newspapers. His brother was employed by the Persian Government, and sent by them with several thousand tomauns to England to buy merchandize, and poor Edward Burgess remained guarantee for his brother's honour. His brother most shamefully neglected to redeem his honour, and abandoned Edward to the consequences of his generous devotion. He is therefore detained in Persia for his brother the defaulter. The poor man would be in the utmost distress if Mr. Bonham and the Russian Consul-General, and the Greek merchants, did not do all in their power to serve him. He told me, with tears in his eyes, that he had written four times to Colonel Sheil without receiving any answer from him, though he had written to him officially as a British subject. Such a matter ought to be settled, since, in a country like Persia, nothing is more probable than that at the death of the King

Burgess would be sold as a slave. I am exceedingly pained to be obliged to say such things, for the forwarding the second letter of the Shah to Bokhara by Colonel Sheil, certainly saved my life; but I am only one, and I was recommended powerfully; but an ambassador ought to take an interest in the meanest subject. The translation of Prince Bahman Mirza's letter, given above, is by him, and he enclosed it to me in the following kind note, which I insert.

My dear Sir, Tabreez, 8th February, 1845.

I sent the translation of the letter the Prince wrote to you by a courier of the French Mission, who started on the 1st of January; I trust that it reached you safely. I did not write to you when I sent that translation, because I had very little notice of the courier's departure. I hope the translation will please you; I have made it as near the Persian as possible to make sense of it, and I endeavoured, as much as our language will allow, to preserve the idiom of the Persian; you who are acquainted with the latter language know how difficult that is. The title "Excellency," which is given to you in the letter, may appear strange in Europe, but it is the only translation I could give to the word جناب (Jenaub). In this country it is only used to priests of high rank and ambassadors, and has always been translated as I have done. One of the Government secretaries attached to the Prince told me that His Royal Highness had given you this title because he understood you had high clerical rank in England, and therefore he wished to give you the same title and respect as was usual in addressing their own Mahomedan priesthood.

You no doubt have heard of the melancholy death of poor

Mrs. Bonham; she died on the 30th of December, after an illness of only five days.

I hope that this will find you safely passed through all your difficulties; we heard of your arrival at Erzeroom, but that you were unwell; no doubt, ere this reaches you, you will again have returned home, and had a happy meeting with your family.

It was just as well you started when you did, for the winter has been most severe; I believe nearly two hundred people have perished in the snow in the immediate neighbourhood of this town, besides those who have been lamed and crippled; the snow in many places was drifted level with the walls of the vineyards which surround the town, and the thermometer stood at ten degrees below Zero, or forty-two degrees of frost. It was almost like living in a place that was besieged; they were so constantly bringing us in news of men being lost. For the last ten days the weather has been milder, and to-day and yesterday we have had quite warm spring days, and the ice and snow is fast disappearing.

I am, my dear Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
EDWARD BURGESS.

At last I determined on my departure from Tabreez. Mr. Osroff, the Russian Consul-General, gave me a third dinner, and made me a present of a Takhtrawan (litter); for being ill I could not ride on horseback. I left Tabreez on the 9th of December. Messrs. Bonham and Osroff, Dr. Casolani, Daoud Khan the Armenian, all the Russian Attachés and the Greek merchants, accompanied me a long distance. Dr. Casolani's brother accompanied me

even to Khoy. All the Europeans cheered me heartily on my departure, with many a hearty Hurra.

On the evening of the 9th we slept in a village called Mayoon, eight English miles from Tabreez. On the 10th we went to Deesa Khaleel, twenty-four English miles from the last place. On the 11th we reached Tasuj, twenty-four miles. On the 12th, Sayd Hajee, twenty-four miles. On the 13th we arrived at Khoy, a considerable town in former times, but almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake. It is now in great confusion, for there is a Governor there, and besides him a brother of the Haje, the Prime Minister, who also pretends to be Governor, does everything in despite of the real Governor; and Prince Bahman Mirza, Prince Governor of Azerbijaun, does not dare to keep him in order, from fear of offending his brother the Haje.

I stopped then in the house of a Persian, for whom I had a letter from the Armenians of Tabreez, till the 15th, when I set out for Perea, always in the Takhtrawan, for my excessive weakness and biliousness did not allow me to ride on horseback. Here the great danger of travelling begins, by reason of the Kurds, who attack every traveller, and who attacked, some years back, Messrs. Todd and Abbott, and robbed them of everything they had. After they had stripped poor Todd of everything, they took away his pomatum. They asked him what

it was, when he said that it was butter; they tasted it, but as they did not like it, they forced poor Todd to demolish sundry pots of it. I am told that he cannot endure bacon ever since, and he was so disgusted with the country, that he took a tremendous oath not to remain in Persia; and he actually left Persia, where he was handsomely paid, and returned to Constantinople, where he was Attaché without pay, but minus pomatum, until he became Attaché in Hanover.

I have this account from high authority, no less than his bosom friend, Mr. Layard, who goes into the full details of everything, and does not leave a tittle unfathomed. I learn that Mr. Todd published something about me; which compliment I beg leave to pay him in return. He is, however, an excellent person, notwithstanding all this.

On the 16th December we arrived at Soraba, twenty-four English miles from Khoy. The cold was intense, and my biliousness increased. Snow had begun to fall. However, we continued our journey, and we arrived at Karaine, where eight Armenian families are residing, who are exceedingly dirty; but as they were well acquainted with the road, I agreed with one of them to accompany me as far as Erzroom, in order that he might everywhere prepare lodgings among the Armenians, for as my health was precarious, I wished to stay

in Christian houses, so that if I should die I might be decently buried and in a Christian manner. After I had agreed with him to give him two ducats to Erzroom, and his victuals, the priest who had recommended him told him that he should not allow him to go except I gave him something for his recommendation. Though I am rather partial to the Armenians in general, I must say that the Armenian priesthood around Tabreez and Khoy, together with those priests of the Chaldean nation who have been converted to Romanism, and who reside at Salmast, Bashgala, Khosrowa, and Oroomia, are most depraved, and generally perform the office of Ruffiani to Europeans who are of a gay disposition. I gave that Armenian priest something for the permission to depart with his Neophyte. A few miles distant from Karaine is an Armenian convent, called Tatus Arrakel, which means Thaddeus the Apostle, for it is believed that the Apostle Thaddeus preached there. That convent contains about six priests, who are called Wardapiet.

We were detained at Karaine by a Kulagh. We then arrived at Seyba, seven miles distant. As it snowed too hard, and natives were actually frozen to death that day, I was compelled to keep the house, where the Armenian whom I had taken with me thoroughly disgusted me by his dirty habits. The filthiness of that fellow was almost inconceivable.

On the 20th December we set out for Awajick, the last frontier town of Persia. Khaleefa Kouli Khan, the governor of that place, received me very kindly, and he again asked me particularly whether I had heard anything of Mc Neil Saheb and Campbell Saheb. I met with a very curious circumstance in his house. I saw there a Persian servant of Colonel Farrant, of Erzroom, by whom he was sent away and in irons from Erzroom to Persia, in order to receive condign punishment by the Haje of Teheraun. He entered my room with his feet in irons, striking them together, and then sat quietly down, and smoked a galyoon, and asked me several questions with great arrogance. After having inquired the reason of his being ironed, I ordered him to leave the room, which he did. I was obliged to leave my Takhtrawan behind, on account of the prodigious snow, and I had now to ascend the mountains of Armenia, and therefore was obliged to go on horseback.

Khaleefa Kouli Khan went some distance with me himself, and sent twelve horsemen on with me who had orders to accompany me as far as Ghizl-Deesa, fifteen miles from Awajick, in the Sultan's dominions. Arriving there, I found a cavass, *i. e.* a guard of honour, sent there already twenty-four days previous by His Excellency the Pasha of Erzroom, Haje Kamil Basha, with a welcome letter of

and arrived at Diadeen. There is more danger in these countries when the sky is clear than when surrounded with thick mists.

On the 23rd we arrived in the Armenian convent of Utsh Kelesea, *i. e.* Three Churches, of which I have already given a description, for I have been twice there. In that convent I found an ancient MS. of the Bible in the Armenian tongue, and my friend J. H. Frere will be glad to learn that, on his account, I looked particularly at Daniel viii. 14, in which the number two thousand four hundred is found. Thus the Hebrew MS. at Bokhara, at Adrianople, and Utsh Kelesea confirm his hypothesis. Utsh Kelesea is situated near the Moorad, *i. e.* Euphrates. The convent is placed at the very back of a mountain, and we cross the Moorad by a bridge, so that in winter it is exceedingly cold, and there is almost a continual Kulagh. The superior informed me, what I knew before, that the great Nierses, formerly Archbishop of Tiflis, was exiled by Paskewitsh to Bessarabia, on account of his inflexible character, and refusal to cede any rights of the Armenian Church. The Emperor Nicholas, however, showed his good sense by proposing Nierses to the Armenian Church as a candidate worthy of being chosen as Katokhikos at Ech-Miazin. I knew Nierses when at Tiflis in the year 1825. He was a venerable man, learned in the Armenian language, and

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en in Russian. His whole mind was absorbed in e great attempt of reviving in his nation the spirit Nierses Shnorhaale and Nierses Lampronazi. He ied to reform his nation without imbuing them vith a spirit of German Neology. He established chools for his nation in all parts of Georgia, and the writings of Mesrop are read, and those of Nierses Shnorhaale and Moses Korinaze. In these addresses he reminds his countrymen that they are descendants of King Abgar, who corresponded with our Lord. He had his nation instructed not only in the Armenian language, but also in the Russian literature.

The great Nikolaus has hopes to unite the Armenian Church with the Russian; and though I consider it to be a Scriptural principle that the Sovereign ought to be the Head of the Church, I think that he will find it a difficult matter to carry. All attempts among Protestants to establish a union have proved abortive; and not only that, but Christian communities who have lived in peace among themselves have been disunited as soon as a direct attempt was made to establish a stricter union among them; thus, for instance, the so-called *Evangelische Kirche*, *i. e.* the Swiss Confession, lived in perfect harmony together until the late King of Prussia made an attempt to unite both together; then even the great Professor

Creutzer, at Heidelberg, and others, rose against it. Thus the attempt to establish a union between the Greek and Anglican Church has failed; and thus also the attempt lately made of uniting the Lutheran Church with the Church of England will fail—yea, has failed already. The best mode of uniting Christian Churches is, to give each other assistance in those things which the Christian Churches are in want of, and to show good will toward each other; and thus, by each branch trying in its own community to promote a spirit of holy zeal for the glory of God, and the promotion of His kingdom, and by each branch displaying a holy emulation in the practice of Christian virtues, the best union is established. And, I ask, is there union within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church? I ask, is there any union between the Roman Catholics? Even before Ronge was excited to an open protest against the Coat of Treves, the schools of Hermes, Sailer, Gosner, were as much opposed, not only to Rome, but even to the school of Klee, and even more than the Lutherans and Evangelicals are. I ask, is the Theological Seminary of Prague, where Caspar Royke, Bolzano, and Peszel taught, in union with the unity taught at Rome? And is there not a distinct difference made in Austria between Roman Catholics and the so-called Römlinge, *i. e.* Romanists? Why was Johan-

nes Jahn, Professor of Oriental Literature, openly denounced as a heretic by Cardinal Severoli? I ask further, are the theological schools in Italy united? Whether, for instance, there is no difference between the teaching of Tamburini at Pavia, and Professor Piatti, formerly Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Collegio Romano at Rome? And, I ask, would Dr. Wiseman dare to teach at Rome as he does at Oscott? There is no union in the churches, and no rule of uniformity will re-establish that unity; and no unity will be re-established until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ to reign upon earth; then the nation shall go up to Jerusalem, and *one* language shall be spoken.

I stopped at the convent of Utsh Kelesea one day, and was kindly treated by the monks. On the 24th we arrived at Yuntsh Aloo, twenty-five English miles from Utsh Kelesea. Here a priest informed me that the Armenian Liturgy was composed by Nierses, Mesrop, Yeknisha, and Isaac, in the fourth century. On the 25th (being Christmas day) we arrived at Kara Klesea, inhabited also by Armenians, who were very anxious to know whether the English people were united with the Church of Rome or not. I gave them a full account of that point. I wished to set out that same day for Mullah Suleiman, but I was overtaken by a shower of snow, which compelled me to return, and I was so weakened

besides, that I sent on an express messenger to Colonel Williams, telling him of my approach.

On the 27th I set out for Mullah Suleiman. The hatred subsisting between the Armenians and the Armenian Catholics cannot be described. The Armenian servant I had with me, and an Armenian priest, who came with me, actually refused to go with me to the house of the Armenian Catholic priest, and rather preferred leaving me and going to the house of a Muhammedan.

From hence we went to Seydekan, five English miles. I was detained there also by the snow. The Armenians there are so dirty, that it would be actually indecent to describe it. On the 30th December, we arrived on the Mount of Taher, and as I wished to get fast through the mountain, and was afraid of being overtaken by a Kulagh, I spurred my horse forward, but I got a violent fall, and the horse fell with me, so that I was taken up senseless, and brought bound on the horse to Kurd Ali, inhabited by Kurds, and stopped in the house of Hassan Aga. The present Pasha of Erzroom has inspired terror among the Kurds in his immediate vicinity, and therefore I was civilly treated, but left in a stable with cows and horses. Most of the Kurds in villages wear no turbans, but large caps dropping behind, like the Maltese. Their language is a most horrid corruption and mixture of Turkish and

Persian, and therefore the proverb is current among the Persians:

Arabee wasi ast.
Farsee shereen ast.
Turkee hunur ast.
Kurdee Khar ast.

Which means Arabic is an extensive language; the Persian sweet; the Turkish powerful; the Kurdish donkey-tongue.

On the 31st December we arrived at Dehli Baba, which has one Armenian church and three priests. On January 1st, we slept at Komassur. On the 2nd of January we reached Kopre Koy, where it was horridly cold; and from thence to Hassan Kaleh, where I was hospitably received by the Turkish Governor, who delivered to me the following kind letters from Colonel Williams and our Consul:

My dear Dr. Wolff, Erzeroom, 3rd January, 1845.

Pray persevere and come into Erzeroom; it would be madness to take medicine so near us. We will nurse you, and put you all to rights in a few days. Brant sent you some wine, which, after all, may be bad for you. I will ride out to the first village this afternoon; pray therefore take courage and come along; we are all ready for you, and if you are to be laid up, we are to be your nurses.

Ever yours truly,

W. F. Williams.

Erzeroom, 2nd January, 1845,
Thursday Evening.

My dear Wolff,

I am glad you are so near us. I received your note from Dahar, and asked the Pasha to send out a Takhtravan or a sledge; he sends out a man to order the Woyvoda of Hassan Kaleh to pay you every attention, and to furnish you with either a Takhtravan or a sledge, both which the Pasha said the Woyvoda had; but in case he did not send, the Pasha requested you would wait until one was sent you from hence. As to Dr. Dickson, he would willingly have gone to Hassan Kaleh, had you been very ill and required immediate assistance, but he thinks you had better defer taking medicine until you arrive here, therefore lose no time in coming on. I send you a bottle of Marsala, which Dr. Dickson recommends in preference to French wine; but use it moderately, it may perhaps not do you good.

I know you intended to have taken up your quarters with Colonel Williams, and although I think you ought to have applied to your old house, the Queen's Arms, yet I did not wish to thwart your inclination. However, as you require nursing and doctoring, I think you had better come to me, as you will get a more commodious room than Colonel Williams can give you, and a house in which you will not be so liable to catch cold. Besides, you will be nearer the Doctor, who can more easily and frequently visit you at my house than were you living at such a distance. I calculate you will not reach Hassan Kaleh until Saturday evening, and I hope you will be here by Sunday, or Monday early.

Thank you for the offer of your services to bind me to a wife, but I do not mean to avail myself of your kindness just now. Hoping soon to welcome you and see you set up in health to prosecute your journey,

Believe me, my dear Wolff,

Your affectionate Friend,

JAMES BRANT.

To show, also, the great interest taken in my proceedings by that eminent philanthropist, Colonel Williams, I also add his letter to Captain Grover:

Dear Captain Grover, Erzeroom, November 28th, 1844.

I have to thank you for your note of the 5th of September, which, owing I presume to delays at the Foreign Office, only reached me by the Turkish Tatar yesterday; since that date you must have received my letters announcing Dr. Wolff's fortunate escape from Bokhara, and his arrival at Meshed; not, however, before you undertook your benevolent journey to St. Petersburg, from whence the last Galignani gives your return to London. I sent the good old Doctor's journal to the Ambassador a fortnight since, under flying seal, and directed to you; no doubt it is now on its way to London. By the Golaum who brought this lengthy letter, I received a private note from the gallant Doctor, telling me that he should leave Teheraun in time to arrive at and quit Tabreez by the 17th instant. I therefore sent off two of the Governor's Cavasses, or guards, to the town of Bayazeed, on the Persian frontier, to escort the Doctor to my house. His Excellency Kaimili Pasha sent letters to Baloul Pasha, the Governor of Bayazeed, enjoining him to furnish the necessary Guard through the Koordish tribes, and His Excellency also caused orders to be addressed to all the village Chiefs along the route, directing them to receive Dr. Wolff as his friend, and to furnish him with everything he might require (horses, &c. &c.). I wrote to Wolff by the Cavasses, so that he will be aware of all this kindness on the part of our excellent Governor. Although I have not heard of his arrival at Tabreez, I look for him about the 1st of December, and will use my utmost endeavours to get him off for Trebizonde on the 4th. Until I see him I shall be anxious about his dress, for our weather is now as stormy and cold as that through (here) which he passed on his way

to Bokhara, and I fear he has been fleeced of the skins I rigged for him! Then his excitement was equal to one great coat; now the good pilgrim has for his travelling companions regrets for the victims of Bokhara, and the daily misery of riding and resting in the filthy stable-hovels of Armenia! He has performed a deed of almost unexampled goodness, and I hope he may meet with a commensurate reward,—I mean in this world. Whilst I am writing you these hurried lines a storm of snow is raging without, and the desolate appearance of the landscape would lead an Englishman (could he view it) to estimate Wolff's courageous task. Next week I hope to announce to you his passage over the first snowy passes.

Believe me, very truly yours,

(Signed) W. F. Williams.

On Saturday, January 4th, I left Hassan Kaleh, and arrived at the small village where I found a Takhtrawan sent to me by His Excellency the Kamil Pasha of Erzroom, and Seraskier of Kurdistaun. On the 5th of January I left that village in the Pasha's Takhtrawan, and set out for Erzroom. Colonel Williams, Mr. Redhouse, and Colonel Farrant came out to meet me. I was in such a state of debility and nervousness, and so eaten up by vermin all over the body, that I was not able to walk. Colonel Williams rode, therefore, back to Erzroom before me, and ordered immediately a good Turkish bath, gave me his own linen, and then brought me to his hospitable dwelling, where I found my dear old friends, Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse, and Mr. Brant, the Consul,

Calvert, Dr. Dickson, Mr. Peabody, and the American missionary, who sent me clothes. Colonel Farrant shook hands with me cordially. He is a fine, open, English soldier. He was the appointed Secretary of Legation to Teheraun.

For five days poor Colonel Williams was engaged in putting the vermin off my body, and it would have been of no use if Dr. Dickson had not given me an ointment to kill them. I was not allowed to walk about in the streets, as they were covered with ice, and slippery; but as we had a nice terrace, Colonel Williams took me there every day, dressed in Mrs. Redhouse's fur cloak, red comforter, fur gloves, and Mr. Redhouse's big boots, which gave me the appearance of a Russian nobleman. These walks refreshed me so much, that I felt renewed in me the hope, which I had given up, that I should be able to bear the fatigues of the last stage of my journey by land to Trebizond, when the doctor said the sea air would thoroughly restore me to health, strength, and good spirits. His Excellency, the Pasha, sent to me his brother to inquire after the state of my health; and so did the other Turkish authorities.

As I have already given a description of my dear friends, James Brant and Colonel Williams, I must say only a few words of Colonel Farrant, who was sent by Government to Mosul, in order to ascertain

the reasons of the massacre of the Nestorian Christians by the Kurds. He is a fine, straightforward fellow. He had heard a great deal of me, as he said, and Sir John Mc Neil had told him the story of the famous wasps which stung me twenty years ago, at Bosra, on which account I had made such a noise in the house that I awoke the whole family of Colonel Taylor from sleep. It is singular that such an insignificant story about the sting of wasps should have travelled from Bosra to Bushire; thence to Teheraun, and excited the attention of the great diplomatist, Sir John Mc Neil, so that I was reminded of it, after twenty years, by Colonel Sheil at Teheraun, by Colonel Farrant at Erzroom, and by Mr. Alison at Constantinople; and I dare say, as my friend Sir John Mc Neil is at Edinburgh, he will have made all the scientific societies of the Athens of the North acquainted with it, and probably it has even reached Downing Street.

Mr. Redhouse was formerly Dragoman to the Porte. He has written a Turkish Dictionary, which the Sultan has ordered to be printed; and has also published a Grammar of the Ottoman Language, which I think that every person who wishes to be employed in any Oriental Embassy ought to possess. The British Government should appoint Mr. Redhouse Professor of the Turkish Literature in one of our English Universities. I received at Erzroom

the following melancholy letter from Tabreez, which nearly overpowered my already sinking spirits:

Dear Rev. Dr. Wolff, Tabreez, 31st December, 1844.

My brother desired me to write to you these few lines, to accompany the memorandum book which you left in his charge; and at the mean time to make you acquainted with the very distressing news of Mrs. Bonham's death, who, on the 26th, was attacked by an eruptive typhus fever, the nature of which was so very severe that medical assistance had too slight an effect; and after lingering for nine days, expired yesterday morning at six o'clock. The corpse was so soon putrefied, on account of the severity of the fever, that they were compelled to inter it last night at midnight. I let you imagine the grief that this catastrophe caused to Mr. Bonham, and all the Europeans.

Mr. D'Ozeroff begged my brother to write to you by this opportunity, to present to you his best regards, and to ask you whether you have taken with you the parcel of letters of recommendation which you received while at Tabreez from the Russian Mission; should this be the case, Mr. D'Ozeroff would feel exceedingly obliged to you, should you return them to him by the first opportunity, as Count de Medem particularly desired him to send him back the fore-mentioned letters, should you not undertake your journey for England through Russia. My brother sincerely wishes you a merry new year's day, and many returns of the day; and so does

Your most obedient servant,

Robert Casolani.

P.S. Your messages, with which I was charged, have been duly delivered. I hope you have till now quite regained your lost strength. All the Europeans send their best regards to you. R. C.

During my stay at Erzroom, Ameer Abul Kasem, the Ambassador from Bokhara for Her Majesty Queen Victoria, arrived there; for, though he was told by Colonel Sheil that he would not be received by the Court of St. James, he nevertheless was determined to proceed on his way to Constantinople, as he had also letters for the Sultan.

Previous to my departure from Erzroom, I received the following kind letter from Sir S. Canning:

My dear Sir, Buyukdere, Oct. 1, 1844.

I hope this letter will meet you on your return from Bokhara; if not, the Turkish letters, which I now hasten to forward, may possibly be of some service to you. At all events, they will show the interest which Turks, as well as Christians, take in your safety. Her Majesty's Government have shown a laudable zeal on your behalf, by instructing me officially to exert myself for you. I cannot help fearing, that if the former letters have not helped you, these are not likely to prove of much use. But, at all events, they may as well be sent to you.

It must be consoling to you to observe the interest which you have generally inspired; and I assure you that no persons feel a larger share in that interest than Lady C. and myself.

May God protect you, my dear Sir, and restore you to those who are capable of appreciating your talents and virtues. Believe me, very sincerely yours,

STRATFORD CANNING.

Never shall I forget my noble friend Sir S. Canning. I feel towards him an enthusiasm that I never felt to any other; and how should I feel otherwise to one who has given a greater blow to

Muhammedanism than any Ambassador ever did? With one word he, with the assistance of the great Guizot at Paris, has overthrown one of the fundamental laws of Muhammedanism.

I called, with Colonel Williams, Colonel Farrant, and Mr. Brant, on His Excellency Kamil Pasha. He told me that the Ambassador from Bokhara had just called on him, when he asked him about the extent and power of Bokhara; upon which he gave the following exaggerated statement: That the kingdom of Bokhara was six hundred farsaghs in length, and that the King of Bokhara has two hundred thousand regular troops in continual pay, and eight hundred pieces of artillery. Kamil Pasha then asked what had become of Stoddart and Conolly, when he gave the following lying statement: That Stoddart had arrived at Bokhara. Soon after his arrival the King observed that many of the Serkerdeha had become rebellious; he inquired into the matter, and His Majesty discovered that Colonel Stoddart had been the instigator of the rebellion. With regard to Conolly, he gave the following statement: That Conolly had been at Khokand; when the King from Bokhara arrived with his army there, that Conolly was made a prisoner, and he did not know his fate. He denied altogether that he had been sent to England, and simply said that his mission was to the Sultan.

The evening before my departure from Erzroom, all my English friends, and also Colonel Dainesi, the Russian Commissioner, and Signor Garibaldi, the Russian Vice-Consul, Signor Bertoni, and the American missionaries, assembled in the house of Colonel Williams, where they dined, and drank most cordially my health.

On the 27th January a cavass from Kamil Pasha, and another cavass of Mr. Brant, the Consul, with a Takhtrawan driver, arrived at the door of Colonel Williams. Colonel Williams, Colonel Farrant, Mr. Brant, Calvert, Guarracino, Garibaldi, Bekir Pasha, a Turkish gentleman who was in England, mounted their horses, and I entered my Takhtrawan, and they accompanied me three hours to Elijeh. My kind-hearted friends then took a hearty leave of me, embraced me, and then returned to Erzroom, whilst I prosecuted my journey towards Trebizond. Colonel Farrant, a lively, cordial soldier, became a great friend of mine, so that I called him my nephew, and he called me his uncle.

I continued my journey, and arrived, on the 28th of January, at Mey-Mansoor, inhabited by Mussulmans. On the 29th we arrived at Saaza; on the 30th at Massad. On the 31st we arrived at Beyboot, where I lodged in the house of an Armenian, not of the best disposition. On the 1st of February we were obliged to remain at Beyboot. Doctor Frank-

furter, a Jew from Presburg, in Hungary, was stationed there by the Turkish Government as medical man to superintend the place of quarantine. On the 2nd of February we arrived at Jaajee Koy. On the 3rd of February we reached Gumush Khane, where I lodged in the house of a respectable Turk. He was an old man. His name was Mustapha. On the 4th of February we arrived at Artasa. On the 5th at Yerkopri. On the 6th of February at Yeseer Oglu. I received at this place the following letter from Mr. Stevens, the Vice-Consul of Trebizond:

My dear Sir, Trebizond, 6 Feb., 1845.

I received late last evening your note from Ardassi, and I hasten to send you out my cavaz, Mehmed Agha, with the enclosed letters, which have accumulated here for you; and also to write you these lines to welcome you back to Trebizond, where I hope you will arrive in safety to-morrow morning. I shall be at the Lazzaretto, and bring with me my colleagues. An apartment is being prepared for you. I presume the Ambassador from Bokhara will arrive to-day.

My cavaz has orders to communicate with you, and place himself under your orders in quarantine. Send him into the Lazzaretto at least an hour before you reach to-morrow, to give me warning.

Mrs. Stevens and my sisters send you compliments.

Yours faithfully,

FRAS. J. STEVENS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Arrival at Trebizond. Folly of Land Quarantine there. Ambassador from Bokhara arrives. One of his old Friends the Makhrams calls on Dr. Wolff; Dr. Wolff feels reluctant to renew the Intimacy. Visits received by Dr. Wolff when in Quarantine. Letter from Colonel Farrant. Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Bokhara Ambassador gets Pratique one day before Dr. Wolff. Singular Conduct of the Pasha of Trebizond. Letter from Mr. Brant. Departure for Constantinople. Sinope and Samsoon. Arrival at Constantinople. Dr. Wolff preaches on board the *Virago*. Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Dr. Wolff waits upon Their Excellencies Sir Stratford and Lady Canning. Letter from the Honourable Mr. Wellesley. Letter from Lady Canning. Kindness of the Legation. Letter from the Reverend H. D. Leeves. Arrival of seven Franciscan Friars at Constantinople, expelled from Russia for their refusal to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Czar. Sympathy excited for them. Power of the Romish Church greatly curtailed by the Czar. Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Visit to Saint Sophia. The Missionaries call on Dr. Wolff. Schauffler; his extraordinary Acquirements in Language. Kindness of Count Stürmer. Sir Stratford Canning induces Sultan to abolish Punishment of Death for Apostacy; the Declaration of the Porte. Letter of Mr. Brant. Introduction of Dr. Wolff to the Grand Vizier, the Reis Effendi, the Shekeeb Effendi, and the Sheikh Islam. Introduction to Greek Patriarchs. Liturgies of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Gregory. The Patriarch visits Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff preaches at the Legation, and in other Places. Kindness of Lady Canning. Letter from the Honourable Mr. Wellesley. Dr. Wolff embarks for England. Arrives at Smyrna. Meets there Lord Clarence Paget and the Reverend H. D. Leeves. Quarantine at Malta. Lord Lorton visits Dr. Wolff in Quarantine. The Bishop of Gibraltar also sees him in Quarantine. Then sails for Gibraltar; on his arrival there receives Letters from the Governor, Sir Robert Wilson, and the Reverend Dr. Burrow. Reaches Southampton on April 9th. Letter of Bishop Doane. Meets at Southampton Captain Grover, Lady Georgiana, and his Son. Starts for London. Returns Thanks to Almighty God for his Preservation, in Trinity Church, Gray's Inn Road. Public Meeting at Exeter Hall. Noble Character of Captain Grover. Letter from the Rev. R. W. Stoddart, Vicar of Hundon. Conclusion.

I ARRIVED on the 7th of February at the place of quarantine at Trebizond. It is strange to hear of quarantine on land; and it is one of the most foolish things I ever heard of, for until a caravan arrives at Trebizond, it must have touched all the neighbouring places, which are not in quarantine. All the answer I can give is, that all the attempts of the Turks at civilization appear farcical. A room was assigned to me close by the Ambassador of Bokhara. He did not himself come near me, but what is very extraordinary, a Makhram sent after us by the Ameer called on me, and he told me that he believed that the Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, had met with his deserts already, or would certainly meet with punishment shortly. I confess that I was not easy in his company; though I know that people will think that my fear was imaginary, I am not ashamed to confess it. For one thing must be observed, which I have omitted to mention in speaking of Bokhara; that the King and Abdul Samut Khan are connected with the people called the Ismaelee, whom the Ameer sends for some great purposes always to murder people whom he suspects, like the Old Man of the Mountain, the chief of the Assassins. Thus, for instance, one of his Serkerdeha, whom he suspected, and who had fled to Shahr-Sabz, was murdered in the palace of the Khan of Shahr-Sabz, and the

head was brought in triumph to Bokhara two months before my arrival. It was said that he was suspected to have been a friend of Stoddart.

I have already adverted to the circumstance that one of the Ameer's brothers was murdered at Khokand, and another at Orenbourg, and besides this, that Makhram, whose name was Shereef Sultaun, whenever he came to me, desired me to send away my servants. It may be objected that the Ameer would not do such a thing, for he would put in jeopardy his own Ambassador; but to this I answer, such an argument is quite ridiculous, for a savage like the Ameer does not care a straw for the life of his Ambassador. It may be objected also, that the Nayeb would not do such a thing, for he is in the power of the Ameer; but to this I answer, that it remains still to be seen whether the Ameer will put to death the Nayeb or the Nayeb the Ameer. Both are bent upon each other's destruction, and the self-interests of both cause each to delay the execution of the deed.

During my stay in the quarantine, I was visited by the English, Turkish, and Russian Consuls, and also the excellent American missionaries, Messrs. Benjamin and Bliss, who all of them sent me daily European dinners, and visited me daily; and during my stay in the quarantine, I received a letter from Colonel Farrant, which I subjoin.

My dear Doctor, Erzeroom, 31st January, 1845.

I write you a few lines to enquire after my good old uncle's health, and hope sincerely this may find you safe and sound at Trebizonde. We all miss you very much here. No news from Persia. Our Gholam arrived in twenty-seven days from Teheran, and was twelve days between Turcomanchaie and Tikmedash. What a lucky escape you had. Bonham writes me that he is broken and destroyed and takes his little boy home in May. I see *the book* you expected has arrived here for you. Good bye, my dear Doctor; I wish you health and every good, and a happy meeting with Lady Georgiana and Master Charles Henry Drummond, and that your severe trials may meet with their just reward, for you have performed a long and perilous journey. God bless you.

Always yours most sincerely,

J. FARRANT.

Mind you do not tell the riddle, "My first it." * * * We have had *no* earthquakes since you left. Mollah Medhee sends a million selaams, and begs me to tell you that those *two* turquoise rings were sent you by the Chief Priest's brother of Meshed. Adieu; take care of yourself.

J. F.

On another occasion the following reached me from Sir Stratford Canning:

My dear Sir, Constantinople, February 7, 1845.

I had much pleasure in receiving your letter from Erzroom, and I congratulate you most cordially on having surmounted with so much fortitude the many difficulties, privations, and dangers with which you have had to contend in the course of your benevolent and bold enterprise. It is well that men of your generous character should be under the special safeguard and direction of Providence.

We shall be happy to see you here, and to assist in rendering your pause at Constantinople gratifying and comfort-

able to you. I understand that you are to put up at the Southgates, though I know not how this is to be managed in the absence of the Bishop.

The box of shawls has never reached us; if it had, Lady Canning would have had much pleasure in forwarding it without availing herself of your kind permission.

Dr. Bennett has abandoned for the present his thoughts of retiring. I understand that your converted friend has returned to Meshed, and I think Colonel Williams has counselled you wisely in that respect. I do not wonder at your expressing yourself so strongly in favour of the Colonel. He has always taken the strongest interest in you. With every good wish from Lady Canning and the children, I beg you will believe me, very sincerely yours,

STRATFORD CANNING.

One day before our pratique, the Bokhara ambassador received his, as he had entered one day before me. During his stay in the quarantine, he received every day his victuals from the Pasha, Abdullah by name, who, a few weeks before my arrival, was forced by the Porte to make an apology to the British Vice-Consul in person, for having grossly insulted him. This person differed widely from the former Pasha of Erzroom. He cannot conceal his hatred against Christians, and especially Europeans; and therefore, whilst he treated the Bokhara ambassador with all distinction, he took not the slightest notice of me.

I must give an instance in point, to illustrate the character of the Bokhara ambassador. He had left Bokhara with seven attendants. With these he

reached Teheraun. To my greatest surprise he arrived at Trebizond with four-and-twenty. He managed this in the following manner. He collected at Bokhara several of the Bokhara and Khiva merchants, whom he told, "If you pay me a certain sum of money, I shall get your merchandise free into Bokhara. On my arrival at Constantinople I told the Vizier and the Reis Effendi.

I omitted to give the following characteristic letter from our consul at Erzroom.

My dear Wolff, Erzeroom, 31st January, 1845.

I hope you this morning started from Baiboot, and you ought to be at Trebizond on the evening of the 5th February. I shall be very anxious to hear that you have got on in comfort; a man reported you well at Maimansoor. The second evening I feared you would not get to Khoshappoonah. Do get to England as fast as you can, and do not daudle at Trebizond and Constantinople. Once with Lady Georgiana you will be happy and comfortable, and will be properly attended to; and I trust you will soon regain your health, and forget the cut-throats of Bokhara. Write to me when you are at home, and let me know where your living is situated, for I shall one day come and see you. Remember me to our excellent kind friend David Baillie.

God bless and preserve you, my dear old fellow, and restore you to your wife and child, and may you enjoy many many years of health and comfort in a snug living, and after a long life of usefulness may you descend honoured to the grave, soothed by the recollection of a well-spent life and the opening hopes and prospects of a better. With sincere respect and esteem, believe me, my dear Wolff,

Your affectionate friend,

JAMES BRANT.

After I had left quarantine, I took up my abode with Mr. Stevens, from whom I experienced the most cordial reception; and after having visited the Greek Church, I set out in an Austrian steamer for Constantinople with Captain Clician. The Bokhara ambassador embarked with his whole escort, but he had no room in the cabin.

The steamer stopped for a few hours at two remarkable places, Samsoon and Sinope, in Paphlagonia. Amisus is the ancient name of Samsoon, which was colonized by the Athenians, and embellished by Mithridates, taken by Lucullus, then by Antony, ruined by the tyrant Strabo, again exalted by Augustus after the victory near Actium. Both places, Sinope as well as Samsoon, were governed after this by the son of Isphandiar, then taken by Bayazid the Lame, then by Bayazid the Lightning. Khasee Thselebe, nephew of Khayaz Adden, of the Seljuck dynasty, was master of Sinope. He carried on piracy against the Genoese. There are in both places many mines, and both places are inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and Muhammedans of Greek origin, who in secret profess the Greek religion. Sinope is the birthplace of Diogenes. An interesting account of both places is given by Joseph Von Hammer, in his *History of the Ottoman Empire.*

I left Trebizond on the 20th, and arrived at Constantinople on the 23rd February. The mo-

ment I arrived in the harbour of Constantinople, the steamer *Tagus* was sailing for England, and as Her Majesty's ship *Virago* was there, commanded by Captain Otway, I sent a note, announcing my arrival, without knowing him personally. He immediately sent a boat after me with a midshipman, and as it was Sunday, I preached in Her Majesty's ship *Virago* to the officers and crew; and scarcely had I done preaching, before the following note came from my dear dear friend, Sir Stratford Canning.

My dear Sir, British Embassy, Sunday, February 23, 1845.

I rejoice to hear that you arrived at Constantinople this morning, and hope that you are well enough to partake of our dinner to-day at seven. Come to us if you can, and afford me an opportunity of saying in person how cordially I congratulate you on your providential escape from so many dangers and perilous fatigues.

Believe me, faithfully yours,

STRATFORD CANNING.

When I had finished preaching, breakfasted, and received a shaving from one of the sailors, I called on their Excellent Excellencies Sir Stratford and Lady Canning. Her Ladyship at once told me that she had prepared a room in the palace for me, but as a new Attaché, Mr. Douglas, had arrived, her Ladyship could not receive me in the palace, but had taken rooms for me in the Hotel d'Angleterre, where all my expenses should be paid. At Mr. Missieri's, the British Hotel, I met

Lord Clarence Paget, Lord Maidstone, Lord Anson, Mr. Rashleigh, M.P., Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Hammond, &c.

On the 24th of February I received the enclosed letter of the 4th February, from the Honourable Mr. Wellesley, First Secretary to the Legation.

Dear Sir, Pera, February 24, 1845.

Although I have not the advantage to be personally known to you, I trust that your acquaintance with my mother will excuse my setting aside all forms, and proposing to you to come and dine with me to-morrow at seven o'clock. It will give Mrs. Wellesley and myself the greatest pleasure to have this opportunity of making your acquaintance.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

H. WELLESLEY.

I received also among many other communications the following from dear Lady Canning:

Dear Dr. Wolff,

If it would not be too fatiguing for you, I think it would be best for you to be with us by 3 o'clock; when you could give a little lecture to the children, as you promised them, after dinner being too late; and then you might satisfy also the wishes of your friends at Missieri's by returning early there. We hope to settle this evening about next Sunday's plans.

Believe me, very truly yours,

Sunday. E. C. CANNING.

I give these documents to show the great spirit of kindness and affection which warmed every breast in the Legation, from its distinguished chief and

his charming lady downwards, to a humble individual like myself.

The last communication I ever received from an individual whose virtues made me as proud of his acquaintance as that of any of the most distinguished parties here, my late lamented and beloved friend, the Reverend H. D. Leeves, chaplain of Athens, I give at length.

My dear Dr. Wolff, Smyrna, March 15, 1845.

Hearing that you are in the neighbourhood, I write you a line to congratulate you sincerely upon your escape from the perils of your adventurous journey, and to say that I hope that I shall soon do the same in person, together with my daughter Mary Anne. We are here together on our way to Syria and Jerusalem, and are staying at the hospitable house of Mr. Lewis. We learn that you come down here by the boat which leaves Constantinople on Monday, and will therefore be here on Wednesday, and I was charged by Mr. Lewis this morning to say, that he meant to write to you, but as I proposed doing so on my coming into town, he has charged me to say, that he hopes on your arrival you will come up to Boujah, and take up your quarters with him. This I hope, also, you will do, as we shall then be under the same roof, and be together during our stay. We cannot leave for Syria till the 27th, and you, I suppose, will like to halt here for a short time before you proceed to England.

I shall send this to the care of the Ambassador, from whom as well as from Lady Canning you are I doubt not receiving every kindness and assistance. With every good wish, and expecting very soon to shake you by the hand,

I am, dear Wolff, yours affectionately,

H. D. Leeves.

Seven Franciscan friars arrived at Constantinople, who were expelled from Russia for having refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor. Great sympathy was excited among the Roman Catholics at Constantinople about them. There is no doubt that the Papal power has received a blow, and will receive a still mightier, in the Russian Empire.

I received, on the 1st of March, the following letter of Sir Stratford Canning:

Dear Sir, Pera, Saturday, March 1, 1845.

Your letters shall be duly forwarded when the messenger goes. If I thought you would be ready with your sermon—a regular church discourse—to-morrow, I would willingly propose to Dr. Bennett to lend you the pulpit then, without waiting for another week; but I have not yet seen the Doctor; the rain has, perhaps, detained him in the country.

I understand that you wanted a firman for travelling with; but if you go away by sea, how can you want a firman?

With respect to the dedication of your Journal, my name, if you really desire it, is at your service; but I should like to see the record of so much humanity and resolution placed under the auspices of a nobler or a brighter name.

I think you told me that you are to dine with the Russian Envoy to-day. I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing you at dinner to-morrow.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Faithfully yours,
STRATFORD CANNING.

Lords Clarence Paget, Maidstone, Anson, and Ponsonby, Captain Otway, Mr. Rashleigh, M.P., and

others, visited the Great Mosque of Saint Sophia and they invited me to go with them, which I did. Thus have I now seen the greatest churches upon earth—St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's at London, and St. Sophia's at Constantinople.

My missionary friends, Schauffler, Goodell, and Dwight, also called on me. Mr. Southgate has since been made Bishop, by the Episcopal Church of America, for all Turkey and its dependencies. Mr. Southgate is a worthy man, but I abstain from any judgment about the institution of Bishoprics undertaken by either the Church of England or America, as I reserve that for a future work, in which I shall develope the utility of these Bishoprics, and the impression they have made among the Eastern Churches.

I have only to say a few words of Schauffler. This is an extraordinary man. When I went from Persia through the Crimea, and arrived at Odessa, I met there a young man, a German, William Schauffler by name, who copied my Journal, though he did not completely understand English. He was a turner by trade. He studied at the Andover seminary, in America, under Moses Stuart; and after this at Paris, under Silvestre de Sacy. He then went to Vienna, and translated the whole Bible into Jewish Spanish. He now knows twenty-four languages, and is beyond all doubt the most eminent

missionary in the Levant. I cannot but speak with gratitude of him and the rest of the missionaries for their kindness.

Count Stürmer, the Austrian Internuntio, and his Countess, Mr. Titoff, the Russian Ambassador, and Madame Titoff, frequently invited me to dinner, when our conversation was on topics of the highest importance. William Palmer, of Magdalen College, I observe is well known by the Russian Church, and is highly esteemed.

Sir Stratford Canning's exertions, in union with the French and Russian Ambassadors, to effect the abolition of the barbarous law of putting Christians to death who embraced Muhammedanism and then returned to Christianity, were crowned with the most distinguished success. The following declaration was issued by the Sublime Porte:

> It is the special and constant intention of His Highness the Sultan, that his cordial relations with the High Powers should be preserved, and that a powerful reciprocal friendship be maintained and increased. The Sublime Porte engages to take effectual measures to prevent henceforward the execution and putting to death of the Christian who is an Apostate.

Several Armenians were at Erzroom, who had embraced the Muhammedan religion. They were taken by Colonel Williams and Mr. Brant from the palace of the Pasha, and have now openly returned

to the Christian religion. There ought to be established a Society for the protection of Eastern Christians and Jews.

While here I received from Mr. Brant the following letter:

My dear Wolff, Erzeroom, 18 Feb. 1845.

I got your lines of the 1st from Baiboot, and 11th from the Lazaretto, Trebizond. I delivered the letter contained in the former, and all the messages and remembrances contained in the latter. I shall be very glad to hear that you have embarked in a direct steamer to England from Constantinople; one should be sailing about the 20th instant from Constantinople, and I hope you will be there in time to profit by it, because it would save you a month.

I was quite enchanted to hear that the tables were turned, and that the Bokhara Elchee is afraid of you instead of your being afraid of him; does he apprehend you are going to poison him?

I should be glad to hear the report of Abdul Samut Khan's death being confirmed, as such a monster was unfit to tread God's earth, and his punishment was certainly merited if crimes ever merit punishment in this world. He will not disturb your mind any more I hope.

I was pleased to hear as well from yourself as from others that your health was so much improved, and I hope by the time you arrive in England, you will be quite yourself again. After your arrival, at some leisure moment think of Erzeroom and let me hear from you. Give me your address and I will write to you. I hope you will be presented to some country living in a pleasant part of the country, and that you will then give up all thoughts of further wanderings.

Do not fail to remember me to our excellent friend David Baillie when you see him.

Farrant is talking of starting for Persia in a few days; the roads are very bad, and will not be improved by a heavy fall of snow which has just occurred.

Our Pasha is recalled, and all the people of Erzeroom and its immediate neighbourhood regret this very much, most particularly as his successor is not very well spoken of.

Present my respectful compliments to Lady Georgiana; and wishing you may find her Ladyship and your son in good health, and be perfectly so when you meet,

Believe me, my dear Wolff,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

JAMES BRANT.

I give this kind letter with the intent that it may appear perfectly evident to my readers, that the feeling entertained by Colonel Sheil as to Abdul Samut Khan is not participated in by the other officers of our Foreign Consulate. I await daily news from Bokhara, which will confirm the statement in this letter of the death of Abdul Samut Khan by order of the Ameer. I think I can say that all our Corps Diplomatique (with the exception of Colonel Sheil), and the whole of the Russian, Austrian, and French, sympathize with me in my unmitigated abhorrence of that murderer.

By order of Sir Stratford Canning, I was introduced by Messrs. Frederick and Stephen Pisani to Their Excellencies the Grand Vizier, Raoof Pasha, and to the Reis Effendi, Shekeeb Effendi, who was formerly in England, and to the Sheikh Islam. All of them expressed their great sympathy with my

sufferings, and their delight to see me again. His Excellency got me introduced to the Greek Patriarch, the successor of St. Chrysostom in the church of Constantinople, who made me a present of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Theologos, of which I insert an abstract, and refer my readers for further particulars to Appendix No. I.

Service Book, comprising the Divine and Holy Eucharistical Services of John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Dialogus (alias Theologos), namely, for the Sanctified. Moreover, the Orders for all the Ordinations; the Office of the Marriage Vow, and Crowning; the Office of the Lesser Purification, and Portion of the Communion; and other necessary Prayers for the Chief Priests. Now published for the use of the Chief Priests, by the combined care of the Most Holy Superintendents of the Patriarchal Typography at Constantinople, 1820, at the Greek Press in the Patriarchate, by permission and order of the Holy Synod.

To our most venerable Fathers, the most holy Patriarchs, and to our most beloved Brethren, all the Chief Priests, befitting homage and due salutation. It is fit that the husbandman that labours should first partake of the fruits, as the holy Apostle has already spoken. They cultivate, some here, some there, as to every one it is committed; and they gather as much fruit as the tillage is calculated to produce. Since, then, we have undertaken to labour at the common patriarchal typography of the nation; but there have joined themselves, and do join themselves, all, so to speak, by spontaneous love of excellence, and unanimous alacrity; but

more actively than the rest they who are comprehended in the hierarchical order, as having sown the seed by their labour as in this soil, it is fit that they before others should reap also of the fruits. Moreover, the book called the *Archieraticon* (Book of Offices) having fallen short, we thought it right to publish this. Besides, we have introduced many things, which in previous editions were omitted, but which seemed necessary and indispensable; having also corrected whatever was erroneous in them. And they would have been distributed gratuitously to men of the same order, to be the first-fruits, did it not appear safer that the things belonging to individuals should be dispersed to the public, than that the things of the public should be dispersed to individuals. Thus, then, having chosen the safer part, accept this book, and with us carry it forth, sowing in this furrow a more abundant seed, that it may bear a larger crop. Farewell!

THE SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE PATRIARCHAL TYPOGRAPHY.

His Holiness paid me back my visit. He, as well as the Armenian Patriarch, spoke with high regard of Dr. Tomlinson, and called him their dear brother. The Greek Patriarch observed, "This is a Bishop with some sense." His further remarks I shall notice in a future publication. I also called on the Armenian Patriarch, and on the Armenian Catholic; all of them treated me with the greatest kindness, and paid me the compliment that I had always acted in my missionary pursuits in such a manner as not to grieve the Eastern churches, since I had directed my attention to those out of the Church.

I preached several times, not only in the English Embassy, but also in the house of Sir Stratford Canning, and expounded my views on the personal reign of Christ, in the palace of Count Stürmer, and Mr. Titoff, in the presence also of Prince Dolgorouki, Mr. Lecoque, the Prussian Ambassador, and others.

On the eve of my departure, Sir Stratford and Lady Canning had so arranged matters, that I had nothing to pay either for my stay at Constantinople, or my journey to England. Lady Canning herself took care to have my trunks packed up, and sent a present of an Armenian scarf to Lady Georgiana. I received the inclosed letter from the Hon. Mr. Wellesley:

My dear Sir, Constantinople, March 20, 1845.

Here is the letter you wished to have for my father. I hope to find a moment this morning to wish you Good-bye; in case, however, I should be prevented, pray accept Mrs. Wellesley's and my best wishes for a prosperous journey home.

Yours very faithfully,

H. WELLESLEY.

I then embarked in the Oriental Peninsular Company's steamer, *The Duke of Cornwall*, for England. We stopped twelve hours at Smyrna. Immediately on my arrival there, Lord Clarence Paget, whom I had seen at Constantinople, sent a boat from his ship, the *Aigle*, to invite me to breakfast, where I

met the Rev. W. Lewis, Chaplain, and my now dear departed friend, the Rev. H. D. Leeves. I then embarked again with two fellow-passengers, Captain Irvine and Captain Macpherson, who took brotherly care of me during the voyage to Malta, where they disembarked.

I stopped in quarantine, at Malta, two days, to wait for passengers from India, *vid* Alexandria. During our short stay at Malta, Lord Viscount Lorton, to whom I have the honour to be chaplain, and the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, called on me, and regretted that they could not shake hands with me in quarantine. At last Sir Joseph Sackville, Colonel Ovans, and seventy other passengers, arrived from Alexandria.

We sailed that same day, and arrived, on the 2nd of April, in the harbour of Gibraltar, where I received the two following letters, one from His Excellency the Governor, Sir Robert Wilson, which I give:

Dear Sir,

It gives me great pleasure to afford you any gratification. We had accompanied you in your generous career with our best wishes, and trust your health has not been impaired.

I have only to regret no personal communication is admissible.

Yours truly,

Gibraltar, April 2nd, 1845. R. WILSON, *G. G.*

And another from that excellent and interesting individual, Dr. Burrow:

My dear Sir,

I cannot express my regret and disappointment at not having it in my power to take you by the hand, and to congratulate you on your arrival in safety under the guns of a British fortress. I have looked with deep anxiety for the vessel which might be bringing you home again from your perilous but truly Christian enterprise. We all bless God that He has been pleased to preserve you under the many trying circumstances which have passed since we last met, and trust that He has yet in store for you, even in this life, the reward of your charitable labours.

Had it been possible, I would have put myself into a boat, merely for the chance of having a few words with you alongside, but unfortunately I am confined to the house by a severe cold, which has settled in my face, and threatens to prevent my doing duty, if not attended to.

I am sorry to say that I have no newspapers of my own to offer you, but I will send and endeavour to procure some, without loss of time.

Mrs. Burrow and my family unite in best wishes with,

Dear Sir, your very faithful servant,

E. J. Burrow.

Wednesday, April 2, 1845.

On the 9th of April I arrived off the Isle of Wight; on the 11th I disembarked at Southampton, where I met, on the shore, my most dear and excellent friend, Captain Grover, and many other friends, all cheering me; and, a few minutes after, my dear wife and child. Captain Grover had procured an order from the Lords of the Treasury that my

presents from the different Sovereigns and Ambassadors should be duty free.

I received at Southampton the following note from the Right Reverend George Washington Doane, Lord Bishop of New Jersey:

Dear Dr. Wolff, Rivunde, Eve of St. Andrew, 1844.

This letter is to bear you my heart's welcome to your home. You have ever had a place in its affections since we met one day at Newark. In your generous undertaking in Bokhara you realized yourself to me; had there been time between my hearing and your starting, I should have sent my blessing to you: as it was, it followed you with daily prayers for your success and safety. When you seemed to be in danger I invited on your behalf the prayers of the whole church. In the recent report of your deliverance I have rejoiced with thanks to God: and I now write to ask your kind remembrance of me to Lady Georgiana and your son; to assure you that you are most kindly remembered in my house and by all your American friends; and to subscribe myself affectionately and faithfully yours,

G. W. Doane.

On the 12th I arrived in London. I embraced the first opportunity that presented itself of returning thanks to Almighty God for my preservation at Bokhara, and in the deserts of Merwe and Sarakhs, in Trinity church, of which my friend, the Rev. J. W. Worthington, D.D., is the Incumbent. I preached there to a numerous congregation, and have received, since my return to town, the visits of many most distinguished individuals.

It was considered proper, on the part of the Stoddart and Conolly Committee, that a public meeting should take place in Exeter Hall; I attended it, and spoke for several hours, and was heard with the deepest attention.

To my kind friend, Captain Grover, at the conclusion of this Narrative, which never would have been furnished to the public but for his manifold kindness in numerous ways, I cannot but publicly express my feeling that the most disinterested, generous, noble-minded, and zealous friend which Stoddart and Conolly could have had, and which I could have had during the whole period of my wandering, detention in Bokhara, and after my arrival home, and the most zealous friend the British Army could have, is that gentleman. One who was no niggard from his disinterested character of his scanty income; one who has reproved the lukewarmness and indifference of others, whose duty it was to have shown greater zeal in the cause of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. I must here state to the public, that Captain Grover spent four hundred pounds out of his own pocket for defraying the expense of my journey; and besides that, more than two hundred pounds, in order to interest the Russian Government in my behalf on his journey for that object to St. Petersburg.

Among the various letters that I have received

since my return, I have to lay before the public one from a worthy member of the Stoddart family, the Rev. R. W. Stoddart, Vicar of Hundon:

Hundon Vicarage, Near Close, Suffolk,
April (May) 7th, 1845.

Rev. and dear Sir,

As a cousin of the ill-fated and much-lamented Colonel Stoddart, one of the Bokhara victims, I take the liberty of writing to you, to express, as one of his relatives, a deep sense of gratitude due to you *especially*, in the risking your life in search of him and his fellow captives. Only weekly receiving a paper in this retired spot, I have just read with deep regret, that the harmony of the meeting at Exeter Hall should have been so unfortunately interrupted by my cousin, the Rev. George Stoddart. I am at a loss to know the grounds of his charge against Captain Grover, evidently based upon something which he has seen in the red book published by that gentleman; but I feel that nothing justifies his interruption of a meeting so harmonious as it appears otherwise to have been, in expressing the high sense of gratitude due to yourself, and Captain Grover as a promoter of your self-sacrificing journey, wherein your own life was in danger.

Whatever advice of my cousin's friends might have caused him for a time to assume the garb of a Mussulman, yet I felt from the first that nothing would shew but that he died in the faith of Jesus, which I am glad to see confirmed by your statement; and before any would detract from his honour or Christian faith, let men bear in mind, that a captive in a dungeon might be *made* to appear *outwardly* in the garments of any faith, but *inwardly* his heart was evidently unchanged. Also from the very first I entertained no hope of his life having been spared, and especially after the blood on our flag in the Affghanistan war; for I observed, after reading that, that without doubt

poor Charles's fate was fixed: yet a superficial hope still remained upon my mind, and every letter which you have sent I have read with deep and painful interest. I think also our best thanks are due to Captain Grover, for his interest and sacrifice made in the good hope of rescuing a fellow soldier from the tyrant's grasp. No praise I feel to be too much to be given to you both; and perhaps you will be kind enough, as I know not his address, to convey mine, and in them the expression of the feelings of the relatives of Colonel Stoddart, to him. My means are limited, but if you will be kind enough to tell the Secretary of the Stoddart Fund to place my name down as a subscriber of a sovereign to the testimonial you so justly deserve, I shall feel obliged. I would that I could give ten times the amount; and most happy should I be to see a subscription to reimburse Captain Grover, to which I would willingly give my mite. Hoping that you will meet in another and better world with the reward due to your endeavours to rescue the captives from their dungeon, is the prayerful wish of

Yours very truly,
R. W. Stoddart.

I have now to thank my readers for the patience with which they have hitherto indulged me; and I trust that the time will never come when the lot of the captive in the dungeon shall cease to command the deep sympathy of a British public; and that the slight effort here made for the lives of the brethren will in no wise be measured by its success, but by the important principle it has developed, that there exists not a recess so dark upon God's earth into which Philanthropy will not pour its light; that

Eastern tyranny can neither daunt nor subdue the Christian principle, but that it will force its way like the mighty leaven that leaveneth the mass, not only to the remotest ends of the earth, but possess every particle in it with its own benevolence, charity, and love.

APPENDIX.

I.

The three Liturgies of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Gregory, with various Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church, and separate Prayers.

Passages from the Greek Liturgy, or Communion Service of St. Chrysostom.

A Prayer which immediately precedes the singing of the Cherubical Hymn, or Trisagium, beginning, "Holy, holy, holy."

Oh, holy God, who hast thy resting place in the holy; whose praises the seraphim chant in triple invocation; who art glorified by the cherubim, and worshipped by every heavenly power; who from not being hast brought all things to be; who createdst man after thine own image and similitude, and adornedst him with every grace of thine own; who givest to him that asketh wisdom and understanding, and dost not neglect the sinner, but enduest him with repentance unto salvation; Thou who hast granted to us, thy poor and unworthy servants, even at this time, to stand before the glory of thy holy altar, and to offer thy due of worship and praise, do Thou thyself, O Lord, receive, though from the mouth of us sinners, this Trisagium, and look upon us in thy goodness. Forgive us every transgression, voluntary and involuntary;

sanctify our souls and bodies; and grant us in holiness to serve Thee all the days of our life, by the intercession of the holy Mother of God, and of all the saints who, from the beginning, have been pleasing to Thee; for Thou, our God, art holy, and to Thee we give praise, to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and for ever.

A Prayer said by the Bishop during the singing of the Trisagium.

O King of Glory, none of those who are bound by fleshly lusts and pleasures is worthy to approach or draw nigh to Thee, or to officiate unto Thee; for to minister before Thee is a great and fearful thing, even for the heavenly powers themselves; and yet, in thine unspeakable and unlimited love for us, Thou didst become surely and substantially man, and wert called our High Priest, and gavest to us the ministry of this eucharistic and unbloody sacrifice, as being Lord of all. For Thou alone, O Lord our God, art the Master of all things in heaven and in earth, riding on the throne of the cherubim, the Lord of seraphim and the King of Israel, alone holy, and making thy resting-place among the holy. Thee, therefore, I venerate, who alone art good and ready to hear; look upon me, a sinner and an unprofitable servant, and cleanse my spirit and my heart from conscience of evil, and enable me, by the power of thy holy Spirit, being endued with the grace of the priesthood, to stand at this thy holy table, and to offer thy holy and undefiled body and thy precious blood. For Thee I approach with bended neck, and entreat Thee turn not thy face from me, and reject me not from among thy children. But grant that these gifts may be offered to Thee by me, a sinful and unworthy servant, for Thou art He that offerest and art offered, and receivest and distributest, O Christ our God; and to Thee do we give glory, together with thy eternal Father, and the all-holy, and good, and life-giving Spirit, now, henceforth, and for ever. Amen.

A Catholic Commemoration of the Servants of God.

(*The Bishop says:*)

And we offer to Thee this our reasonable service in behalf of all those who have fallen asleep in the faith; for our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, ascetics, and every spirit made perfect in faith.

(*With an uplifted voice:*)

Chiefly for her, our all-holy, undefiled, most blessed, and glorious mistress, the Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary.

(*Then in the same tone as before:*)

For the holy John, Prophet, Forerunner, and Baptist; for the glorious saints and ever blessed apostles; for the saint whom we commemorate, and all thy saints, at whose supplication may God look upon us. And remember all that have fallen to sleep in hope of a resurrection to eternal life, and grant them to rest, O our God, there, where the light of Thy countenance looketh upon them. Yet, again, we beseech Thee, O Lord, remember the whole order of bishops among the orthodox, who rightly divide the word of thy truth; the whole order of priests; the diaconate in Christ, and every order Holy and Monastic. Yet, again, we offer to Thee this reasonable service in behalf of the whole world; for the holy catholic and apostolic Church; for those who live in chastity and sober conversation; for our most religious and Christian kings, for all the palace, and their army. Grant them, O Lord, a kingdom of peace, that we, also, in their peace, may lead a calm and quiet life in all sanctity and soberness.

(*Then with an uplifted voice:*)

Especially, O Lord, remember our archbishop (*here mentioning his name*), whom bestow upon thy holy churches in peace, in safety, in honour, in health, living long, and rightly dividing the word of Thy truth.

(*Here the Deacon reads out from the Roll the names of illustrious living Members of the Church; after which the Bishop continues:*)

Remember, O Lord, the city in which we sojourn, and every city and country, and the faithful who live in them. Remember, Lord, all that travel by sea and land; those who are sick, in trouble, and in prison, and save them. Remember, Lord, those who bring forth fruit and rightly serve Thee in thy holy churches, and those who are mindful of the poor; and upon all of us send forth thy mercies; and grant us to glorify Thee with one mouth and with one heart, and to sing the praise of thy honourable and glorious name, the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for ever. And the mercies of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, shall be with us all.

Passages from the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great.

A Prayer of the Bishop after the Cherubic Hymn and the Oblation of the Elements.

O Lord our God, who hast made us and brought us into this life, who hast shewed us the way of salvation, and of thy grace hast revealed to us heavenly mysteries, and appointed us to this ministry with the power of thy Holy Spirit; be moreover well pleased, O Lord, that we should be ministers of thy new covenant, and celebrators of thy holy mysteries. According to the multitude of thy mercy, receive us who draw nigh to thy holy altar, that we may be worthy to offer unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice on behalf of our own sins and the ignorances of the people; receive it as a sweet-smelling savour upon thy holy and reasonable altar which is above the heavens, and send down in return upon us the grace of thy Holy Spirit. Look upon us, O God, and behold this our service, and accept it as Thou didst accept

the gifts of Abel, the victims of Noah, the sufferings of Abraham, the sacrifices of Moses and Aaron, and the peace offerings of Samuel. As Thou didst accept this real service from thy holy Apostles, so in thy goodness, O Lord, accept also these gifts from the hands of us, sinners that we are, that we, being admitted to minister without blame at thy holy altar, may receive the reward of faithful and wise stewards in the dreadful day of thy righteous retribution.

A Prayer of the Bishop after the Versicles, *Lift up your hearts, Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.*

O Thou who art our Master, Lord God, almighty and adorable Father; it is very meet, right, and suitable to the majesty of thy holiness, that we should praise Thee, celebrate Thee in song, bless Thee, worship Thee, give thanks unto Thee, and glorify Thee, who alone art really God, and offer unto Thee this our reasonable service with a contrite heart and humble spirit; for it is Thou who hast granted us the knowledge of thy truth; and who is able to express thy noble acts, or shew forth all thy praise, or to tell of all the marvellous works that Thou hast done since the world began? O Ruler of all men, Lord of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; Thou who sittest upon the throne of glory, and lookest upon infinity; eternal, invisible, incomprehensible, indefinable, invariable; the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the great God and Saviour, our hope, who is the image and exact impression of thy goodness, shewing the Father in Himself, the living Word, very God, Wisdom from before all worlds, Life, Sanctification, Power; the true Light from whom there has shone forth the Holy Spirit; the Spirit of truth, the gift of the adoption, the earnest of the inheritance to come; the first-fruits of good things which will never pass away; the life-giving power, the fountain of sanctification from whom all reasonable and sensible creation receiveth power to do its services unto Thee, and to send up unto Thee

for evermore its praise, for all things are in subjection under Thee. To Thee give praise angels and archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, forces, and the cherubim, full of eyes; around Thee stand the seraphim, of whom each one hath six wings, with twain they cover their faces, with twain they cover their feet, and with twain do they fly, while each one crieth unto another with lips that never cease, and praises that sound for evermore,

(*Here shall the voice be exalted,*)

Singing the hymn of triumph, exclaiming, crying out, and saying,

(*Here probably the choir sang an hymn. Then shall he continue:*)

With these blessed powers, O merciful Lord, we sinners also do cry aloud, and say, Holy art Thou of a truth, and altogether holy, and there is no bound to the majesty of thy holiness, and holy in all thy works, for in righteousness and true judgment hast Thou brought all things upon us. For when, by taking the dust of the ground, and honouring it, God though Thou wert, with thine own image, Thou hadst made man, Thou didst place him in the garden of pleasure, and didst promise unto him everlasting life, and the enjoyment of eternal happiness, by the keeping of thy commandments. But when he was disobedient to Thee the true God, his Creator, and was led astray by the guile of the serpent, and was dead in his own transgressions, in thy righteous judgment Thou, O God, didst put him forth from the garden into this world, and badest him return unto the ground from which he was taken, instituting at the same time the economy for his salvation by regeneration, to be brought about by thy Christ Himself. For Thou didst not utterly cast away thy creatures which Thou hadst made, O good Lord, nor didst Thou cease to remember the work of thine hands: but Thou didst look upon him in divers manners through the bowels of thy compassion; Thou didst send forth from Thee prophets and didst work miracles by thy saints who found favour in thy eyes in each generation; Thou spakest unto us by the mouth

of thy servants the prophets, declaring unto us before-hand the salvation which was to come; Thou gavest for our help the law; Thou didst place over us the angels as guardians; but when the fulness of time was come Thou didst speak to us by thy Son Himself, by whom also Thou madest the worlds, who, being the brightness of thy glory, and the express image of thy person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, thought it not robbery to be equal with God and the Father. But God, though He was from everlasting, yet He appeared upon the earth, and had his conversation among the children of men; for, being incarnate of a holy Virgin, He emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was found in the humble fashion of us men, that he might make us be found in the glorious fashion of his own image. For since through man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, it pleased thy only-begotten Son, who was in the bosom of Thee, God and Father, being born of a woman, the holy Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary, and being under the law to condemn sin in his own flesh, so that they who were dead in Adam might be made to live in thy Christ. And when He had formed to Himself a kingdom in this world, and given the ordinances of salvation, and brought us back from wandering after idols, He led us on to the knowledge of Thee the true God and Father. And having gotten us for Himself as a peculiar people, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, and having made us clean by water, and having sanctified us by the Holy Spirit, He gave Himself as a ransom for us from the death in which we were holden, sold under sin; and going down by means of the cross into hell, that He might be the fulfilling of all things, He overcame the sharpness of death, and by rising again on the third day He opened a way for all flesh to the resurrection from the dead. And since it was not possible that He, the Author of life, should be holden of corruption, He became the first-fruits of them that slept, the first-born of the dead, that in all things He might have the pre-eminence. And when He had ascended into heaven He

sate down at the right hand of thy Majesty on high. And He shall come also to repay every man according to his works. He left behind Him for us these memorials of his saving passion, which we have offered before Thee according to his commandments. For when He was about to go forth to his voluntary, and memorable, and life-giving death, in the night in which He gave Himself up for the life of the world, He took bread in his holy and undefiled hands, and having offered it up to Thee, God and Father, having given thanks, and blessed it, and consecrated it, and broken it,

(*Here shall he exalt his voice,*)

He gave it to his holy disciples and apostles, saying,

(*Here follow the usual formulæ of consecration of the elements.*)

Another Prayer at a later period of the Service.

O God, the God of our salvation, teach us to give thanks unto Thee, as we ought, for the benefits which we have received, and are receiving at thy hand. Thou, who art our God, and hast received these gifts, cleanse us from all defilement of the flesh and spirit, and teach us to fulfil all righteousness in the fear of Thee, so that, receiving our share of thy holy things with the witness of a pure conscience, we may be made one with the holy body and blood of thine anointed, and having been worthy recipients of the same, may we have Christ dwelling within our hearts, and may we become the temple of thy Holy Spirit; so let it be, O God. And let none of us be guilty of these thy fearful and heavenly mysteries, nor let there be any among us weak in soul or body, from having shared in them unworthily, but grant that until our last breath we may worthily receive our portion of thy holy elements, so that they may be our viaticum to eternal life, and enable us to make an acceptable answer at the tremendous judgment seat of Jesus Christ, so that we, with all the saints who have found favour before Thee in every generation, may be partakers of those good things which Thou hast prepared for evermore for those who love Thee, O Lord.

Passages from the Missa Præsanctificatorum, used only on days of fasting.

O Lord, compassionate and merciful, of long suffering and great pity, incline unto our prayer, and listen to the voice of our supplication. Shew upon us some sign for good. Lead us in thy path, that we may walk in thy truth. Make glad our hearts within us, that we may fear thy holy name, for Thou art great, and dost wondrous things. Thou only art God, and among the gods there is none like unto Thee, O Lord. Thy power is merciful, and thy loving kindness is strong, to help, comfort, and serve all those who put their trust in thy holy name.

Prayer of the Introit.

At evening, and morning, and noonday we praise, bless, give thanks unto, and make supplication unto Thee, O Ruler of all, O Lord, who lovest mankind; let our prayers arise up before Thee as incense, and let not our hearts be inclined to any evil thought or word; but deliver us from all those who seek after our souls to do them evil, for upon Thee, O Lord, upon Thee our eyes do wait; we have put our trust in Thee, O God; let us not be confounded. For there is all glory, &c.

Another Prayer.

O great and adorable God, who, by the life-giving death of thy Son, hast made us pass from corruption into incorruption, make all our senses free from whatsoever of death remains in them, and maintain as a trustworthy Ruler over them the Reason which Thou hast placed within us. Let no evil look glance from the eye, no idle word mount up into the ear, and let the tongue be pure from all unseemly sayings. Make our lips clean wherewith we bless thee, O Lord. Keep our hands from all wicked actions, and make them labour

only at such things as are well pleasing unto Thee, and by thy grace preserve all our members and our understanding in perfect safety.

A Prayer for the Benediction of the Branches on Palm Sunday.

O Lord our God, who sittest upon the cherubim, who didst raise up thy power and didst send forth thy only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that He might save the world by his death, burial, and resurrection, who, as He came into Jerusalem to his voluntary sufferings, was met by the people who sate in darkness and the shadow of death, bearing the signs of victory, branches of trees and boughs of palm, foreshowing thereby his resurrection; preserve now us also, O Lord, who after this example are carrying in our hands this day before the feast boughs and branches of trees, and watch over us as we shout Hosanna unto Thee, as did the crowds and children at that day, so that with hymns and spiritual songs we may be thought worthy to celebrate the life-giving resurrection of the three days, through Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom Thou art to be praised with the all-holy and good Spirit, the giver of life, now and ever, world without end. Amen.

A Prayer to be said over Penitents.

O God, our Saviour, who through thy prophet Nathan didst grant unto David forgiveness of his sins, and didst accept the prayer of Manasses, which he offered up, being penitent, accept now, O Lord, with thy accustomed loving kindness, this thy servant (*here the name is repeated*), who repenteth him for the evil that he has done, and pass over all that he has committed, Thou who puttest away iniquity and rememberest transgressions no more. For Thou hast said, O Lord, "He desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live;" and hast told us how sins ought to be forgiven until seventy times seven. As thy great-

ness is incomparable, so is thy mercy infinite; for if Thou be extreme to mark what is done amiss, who may abide it? For Thou art the God of the penitent, and to Thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we ascribe glory, now and always, world without end. Amen.

An Absolutory Prayer for the Dead.

O Lord our God, who of thy unspeakable wisdom didst make man out of dust, and didst form him into shape and comeliness, and didst beautify him as a precious and heavenly possession for the praise and majesty of thy glory and kingdom, by the leading of a life according to the image and similitude which he bare, and when he had transgressed the commandment of thy ordinance, and had not preserved this image, but departed from it, didst, in order that the evil might not be everlasting, mercifully command, by thy divine will, as the God of our Father, that this compound and mixture should be dissolved, and this wonderful bond should be broken, and didst command that the Spirit should return thither where it received its being, to await the general resurrection, but the body return to the earth as it was, we beseech Thee, eternal Father, and thy only begotten Son, and the all holy and consubstantial Spirit, the giver of life, that Thou wilt not suffer the work of thy hands to be swallowed up in destruction, but that his body may be dissolved into the dust of which it was composed, and that his soul may take its place in the assembly of the just. Yea, O Lord our God, let thy boundless mercy, and thine infinite compassion prevail, and whether this thy servant fell under the curse of father or mother, or the sin of his own soul, or provoked one of thy priests, and was bound by him in a chain which cannot be broken, or was suffering under the most grievous excommunication of the bishop, and through his sloth or neglect had not obtained absolution, absolve him through me, sinner and unworthy servant of thine that I am. Dissolve his body into the dust of which it was composed, and bid his soul take its place in

the habitations of the saints. Yea, O Lord our God, who didst give this power to thy divine and holy apostles for the forgiveness of sins by them, and didst say, Whatsoever things ye shall bind and loose, shall be bound and loosed, loose this thy departed servant (*here shall his name be mentioned*) from his sins of body and soul, and let him be absolved now and hereafter, through the intercession of our undefiled Lady, the Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, and all thy saints. Amen.

A Benedictory Prayer of the Bishop in the Service for Nuptials.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord God, who didst consecrate the mystic and undefiled rite of matrimony; who art the Ruler of our bodily life, the Guardian of our immortality, the good Dispenser of the things of this world. O Thou our Master, who didst form man in the beginning, and didst appoint him as king of creation, and didst say, It is not meet that man should be alone upon the earth; let us make him an help meet for him; and having taken one of his ribs, didst form woman, whom, when Adam saw, he said, "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man; for this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh; and whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder;" O Thou our Lord and Master, and our God, send thy heavenly grace on these thy servants (*here mentioning the names of the couple*); and grant to this damsel to be subject to her husband in all things, and to this thy servant that he may be as the head of the woman, that they may live according to thy will. Bless them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst bless Abraham and Sarah. Bless them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst bless Isaac and Rebecca. Bless them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst bless Jacob and all the Patriarchs. Bless them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst bless Joseph and Asenath. Bless them, O

Lord our God, as Thou didst bless Moses and Zipporah. Bless them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst bless Zachariah and Elizabeth. Preserve them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst preserve Noah in the ark. Preserve them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst preserve Jonah in the belly of the whale. Preserve them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst preserve the three Holy Children from the fire, sending upon them the dew of heaven: and may there come upon them that joy which St. Helen had when she found the precious cross. Remember them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst remember Enoch, Shem, Elias. Remember them, O Lord our God, as Thou didst remember thy forty holy Martyrs, sending down their crowns from heaven. Remember also, O Lord, their parents who reared them, for the prayers of parents establish the foundations of the house. Remember, O Lord our God, thy servants the para-nymphs assembled at this rejoicing. Remember, O Lord our God, this thy servant and thy handmaid, and bless them; grant them the fruit of the womb, the grace of children, and agreement in spirit and in body; exalt them as the cedar of Libanus, and as the choice-clustering vine; grant them to be as the fruitful vine, that, having all-sufficiency, they may abound unto every work that is good and well-pleasing to Thee, and may see their children's children as the young olive-branches round about their table, and being acceptable before Thee, may shine as lights in the heaven: through Thee, our Lord, with whom be glory, and power, and honour, and worship, together with thy eternal Father, and thy life-giving Spirit, now, henceforth, and for ever. Amen.

A Prayer said by the Bishop over one employed to travel officially.

O God our God, who art the true and living way, who didst accompany thy servant Joseph on his journey, accompany, O Lord, this thy servant (*mentioning his name*); protect him from robbers and pirates, and every plot of the murderous enemy of man. Forgive him every transgression, voluntary

and involuntary, whatsoever he has committed in deed, in word, or in intention, whether in knowledge or in ignorance. Preserve his life unassaulted, and his soul pure from all defilement. Prosper his movements, and conduct his plans; keep him in health and of a sound mind in all to which his mind shall be given. Even so we pray Thee, O almighty King and long-suffering Lord, hear me, unworthy as I am, for thy goodness; and overlooking all the offences of thy servant (*here mentioning his name*), enrich him with thy grace, and make him full of all thy earthly and heavenly gifts, and an inheritor of thy divine glory and of thine unspeakable peace; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for ever. Amen.

II.

Narrative of Events which happened to Dr. Wolff at Bokhara, and on his Journey thence to Teheraun;

By ABDUL WAHAB, Mirza, Painter, Watchmaker, and Tailor.

In company with the exalted Abbas Kouli Khan, as will now be detailed, the Rev. Joseph Wolff arrived in Bokhara. Before the Ameer of Bokhara admitted Joseph Wolff to his presence, he assembled several of his Grandees to consult with him, saying, "What answer shall I give to the English envoy respecting putting to death two English gentlemen, Stoddart and Conolly?" They answered, "Your Majesty knows best." His Majesty said, "Let us say that they committed high treason, and therefore we have seized them and put them to death." The Grandees said to the Ameer, "This gentleman who is now come, seize him and put him to death. Who is he? He may be coming with an army towards Bokhara, and he may possibly take Bokhara." His Majesty answered, "Let us wait to see what he will do when he arrives in Bokhara."

A Chamberlain from the King then went to Joseph Wolff, saying, "Tell us what is your object, that I may inform His Majesty." Joseph Wolff answered, "I have letters from the Shah and Sultan. Why do you maltreat a stranger? And why have you put to death two English gentlemen? Answer me what was their crime? By what religion or creed is this right, killing your guests?" The King of Bokhara had no answer to give. The Chamberlain then left.

The King sent Joseph Wolff to the Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, to receive answers from him about the execution. Joseph Wolff, on a Monday, at nine o'clock, went with Dil Assa Khan, whom the Assaff-ood-Dowla had sent from Meshed with him, in company with a Makhram, Mullah Kasem, to Abdul Samut Khan. They seated themselves on the balcony of the house of the Nayeb, with Abdul Samut Khan. A conversation then took place on the subject of Stoddart and Conolly, opened by Dr. Wolff. Abdul Samut Khan attributed to Stoddart and Conolly crimes that they had not committed (of which Heaven is witness). Dr. Wolff perceived that he should be implicated in a troublesome matter if he said, "You have made false imputations with respect to those gentlemen," and probably be put to death himself. He said nothing.

Afterward Abdul Samut Khan said to Joseph Wolff, that His Majesty had written a letter to the Dowlat, asking information as to the capacity in which they had come to Bokhara. From the time of their arrival in Bokhara other kings had become rebellious. (This account was false, and these gentlemen calumniated; for from the most ancient times, from the reign of Shah Hydur, the father of the present King, Khokand and Khiva had been yearly at war with Bokhara.)

Joseph Wolff replied, "The letter which the Dowlat received through India was answered a year ago. Why do you utter falsehoods?" (But this letter had not reached the King, though it had certainly been received by the Nayeb. The Nayeb only owned to this two days before his departure for Khokand. He had received it by Nasir Hirullah, a Cabulee)

We come now to later circumstances. From the arrival of Joseph Wolff until Abbas Kouli Khan came, Joseph Wolff was greatly distressed in mind, as shall be explained.

One day they brought Joseph Wolff to Abdul Samut Khan's house, when the following circumstances occurred,

in company with Mullah Kasem, the Chamberlain, and Dil Assa Khan. After the crimes which they imputed to Stoddart and Conolly had been named, which Joseph Wolff refused to answer, the Chamberlain went to the King, and reported his silence, and represented that Joseph Wolff, who had heard the offence of the officers in the Nayeb's house, and the statement against Stoddart and Conolly, was convinced of their guilt. The Ameer was greatly delighted to learn that Joseph Wolff assented to their reasonable sentence. After the departure of the Makhram, the Nayeb said, "The gentlemen were innocent; the King put them to death unjustly. I have been two years in his service without pay myself, and he has dismissed me. If the English Government would send a man to Shahr-Sabz, Khokand, Organtsh, Balkh, to make an alliance with them, and give me twenty thousand tillahs, I myself would kill the Ameer in retaliation for the death of the English gentlemen."

Joseph Wolff. "The illustrious Dowlat does not sanction the murder of Sovereigns. We do not seek a name of infamy."

(From the time that Joseph Wolff came to the Nayeb's house to the period when he went with Abbas Kouli Khan to Meshed, he was on each separate occasion guarded night and day, so that no one could have access to him, nor could he hold speech with any unperceived.)

The Nayeb produced on one occasion a paper, signed by Stoddart and Conolly, that the Nayeb had lent them three thousand tillahs, which they were in debt. "I will send you," said he to Joseph Wolff, "six thousand tillahs on behalf of Abdullah Khan (his son). Have a care that hereafter those three thousand tillahs, with the six thousand tillahs which I will send you, be paid. You will give a written undertaking, that the interest shall be paid to my son." Joseph Wolff agreed to this. He took three thousand tillahs. The other three thousand were disbursed for the journey.

Every day the Nayeb used to say, "His Majesty will give

you leave to depart to-morrow." (The fact was not known among the people, that at this time the Ameer had determined to kill Joseph Wolff; but this was the fact.) Had Abbas Kouli Khan not secured the safe conduct of Joseph Wolff, he would have been killed as Messrs. Stoddart and Conolly were. The Ameer, when he learnt the arrival of the Eljee, Abbas Kouli Khan, from the Shah, the shadow of God, (may God prolong his empire and government,) with several requests, determined to see him, and to learn what they were. He asked him by the Shekhawl, for what purpose he came. Abbas Kouli Khan: "I, the slave, come from the King of Persia with four requests. I have a letter in which they are contained. Let the King of Bokhara receive it." After the arrival of the Khan they invited him to an audience. Abbas Kouli Khan brought a royal letter, with greetings on the part of the Shah, to the Ameer of Bokhara. Having taken the letter, he went to the Ameer. After compliments, he preferred the following requests to the Ameer of Bokhara: 1st. The release of Joseph Wolff. 2nd. The liberation of slaves. 3rd. Liberation of Muhammed Taki the Astrologer's wife, who was in slavery with the Ameer. 4th. Respecting Mowr.

The King of Bokhara answered, "With respect to the departure of the Reverend Joseph Wolff, I have no difficulty. I am very glad that you are come. This is my will in common with that of the King of Persia. We are going to send an Eljee, in company with Joseph Wolff, to England, to please you. Several people from Persia I shall give you, and we shall send them in your company to Persia. Never has an instance been known from the most ancient time, that any King ever has taken slaves from Tūrkistaun into Persia. As thou art the devoted slave of Iraun and a perfect man, we give you Joseph Wolff for your safe conduct. Take him with you and also those slaves* that I have permitted."

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* The Ameer meant the slaves that had purchased their freedom. J. W.

Then Joseph Wolff and Abbas Kouli Khan agreed to go together to Meshed. Then there came the news of the march to Khokand. Praise be to God, the Ameer went there and was defeated, and returned; Abbas Kouli Khan was allowed to depart with Joseph Wolff, having taken with them the slaves sent out from Meshed. Then there came another letter from the Shah, demanding the release of Joseph Wolff.

Joseph Wolff one day said to the Nayeb, in the presence of Mullah Kasem and Dil Assa Khan, "The Dowlat has sent by India a letter to the King of Bokhara, and in the country of Cabul five hundred rupees were paid to an Affghaun to convey the letter to Bokhara, and that Affghaun lives at Balkh." Several days after the arrival of Joseph Wolff, when the news of this letter went abroad, Nasir Hirullah, a Cabulee, came to the Nayeb, saying, "This Affghaun, who brought from Cabul the answer to the letter of the King of Bokhara, is in Bokhara in my house, and gave me no account of the letter from fear. Shall I take the letter and give it to the King? It is respecting the release of Stoddart and Conolly. Having learnt that a gentleman has come from Iraun to Bokhara, this man came from Balkh to Bokhara." The Nayeb informed the King that the letter had come from England to Cabul, and from Cabul to Bokhara; and that from fear it had not been delivered to His Majesty, and that the letter was at Balkh. "Let them bring it from Balkh," said the King. The Cabulee and other persons were sent to fetch it. Some time after this event, the expedition to Khokand took place. The Ameer sent a man from Samarcand for the Nayeb, that he should come with soldiers and four cannon, in order that he might march against Khokand. One day before the Nayeb set out from Samarcand, the letter came from Balkh. The letter was sealed, but broken in the middle. The Nayeb gave the letter to one of his men to show it to Joseph Wolff, and said he was going with the letter to give it to the King at Samarcand. Having shown the letter to Joseph Wolff, he

took it away and brought it to the King. After the Nayeb came back from the march to Khokand, he gave the letter to me, Mirza Abdul Wahab, being at that time in the house of the Nayeb, and said, "Carry the letter to Joseph Wolff to read it." Again, His Majesty, after reading it, said, "It is no answer to my letter to the British Government. It is just that I kill this Frankee also." If Abbas Kouli Khan had not been at Bokhara, Joseph Wolff would have been killed, like the other English gentlemen, but he led him away. I, who am Abdul Wahab, showed this letter to Abbas Kouli Khan, and told him what the Nayeb said. Abbas Kouli Khan said to me, "Give the letter to Joseph Wolff, but do not tell him what the Nayeb said. If you tell Joseph Wolff what the Ameer has said, it will kill him. I am from Iraun; there will I carry him. If he shall die, what shall I say to the Shah?" I gave the letter to Joseph Wolff, but said not a word. The Nayeb himself, in his own house, said to Joseph Wolff, that the King had said as above.

But with respect to the money which the Nayeb gave to Joseph Wolff one day, the Nayeb gave me two thousand tillahs, saying, "Take them to the house of Joseph Wolff, and give them to him, and take a receipt for me, sealed up." I carried with me the two thousand tillahs. Joseph Wolff gave them into the hands of Abdullah, and Mehdee, a servant of the Nayeb, lent to Joseph Wolff for the purpose of attending him, saying, "Count them, and see that the silver is right." Having given Joseph Wolff the money, I came to the house of Abbas Kouli Khan, and sat down for about an hour, when Joseph Wolff brought the written receipt to me, sealed in due form, acknowledging that the two thousand tillahs were correct. I, the humble servant, took the receipt, and gave it to the Nayeb. Two days had elapsed from the giving of the two thousand tillahs, when I gave him one thousand more, in the presence of Ameer Sarog the Türkomaun, who accompanied Joseph Wolff from Meshed.

Abbas Kouli Khan, Dil Assa Khan, Joseph Wolff, Ameer Sarog,

and Kaher Kouli, having departed from Bokhara, set out for Meshed. Night and day the sole thought of Ameer Sarog, of Abdullah, of Kaher Kouli, of the men of Dil Assa Khan, was, if possible, to kill Joseph Wolff, and take away his money. Should they not be able to kill him, they determined to have his money. Abbas Kouli Khan understood their design, and gave Joseph Wolff one Ibrahim, a servant of his own; and in the night he kept guard over him, and bound his bridle to mine. During each station our tents were pitched side by side, till the time of loading. The money, the three thousand tillahs, was kept in the trunk of Abbas Kouli Khan. Further occurrences shall be related. Saturday evening, 12th Rajab.

One hour of the day had elapsed, when the high in rank, Abbas Kouli Khan, and Joseph Wolff, with Dil Assa Khan, Abdullah, Ameer Sarog, Kaher Kouli, with the rest of the attendants, arrived at Jesman-Doo, and halted for a time in a garden on the border of a tank. Dil Assa Khan, with his own servants, took up his abode outside the garden. When the first of the sun came, we mounted our horses and set out for Shahr Islam. They halted at Shahr Islam in a mosque.

Joseph Wolff came to Abbas Kouli Khan, exclaiming, "For God's sake come here, Ameer Sarog, Kaher Kouli, Abdullah, Dil Assa Khan, Mortesa, from whom I hired camels for carrying the cash, pick quarrels with your servant. They will at last kill me; I shall not arrive in Teheraun. Having broken my trunk they want to carry off the bag of money." Abbas Kouli Khan said to me, Mirza Abdul Wahab, "Run, do not leave the money in the hands of the Englishman, and seal it with wax and a seal." To another servant, whose name was Fezullah, it was given in charge to look after the money, so that no one might steal it.

We quitted Shahr Islam. Abbas Kouli Khan, with Joseph Wolff, took up his quarters inside a house, Dil Assa Khan and others outside. Provision was sent to Joseph Wolff from Abbas Kouli Khan. We arrived at Karakol, and remained

in the house of Shakerbeg, which is the House of the King; Dil Assa Khan and others outside, on the bank of the river. Day and night Abbas Kouli Khan's servants were constantly annoyed by Abdullah, Ameer Sarog, and Kaher Kouli.

From Karakol we went to Alāt. In Alāt we had one common abode with Abbas Kouli Khan. Here Joseph Wolff gave bread and a sheep to the slaves. Abbas Kouli Khan gave at every station an allowance to the slaves, until the day when we arrived in Meshed.

Thence we departed, and to the village of Sayen. There, in the house of the Lord of the Beard, we took up our quarters. Ameer Sarog said to Joseph Wolff's servant, "If the Tūrkomauns from Khiva come and assault us, I shall kill Joseph Wolff, and take away his money; I will not leave it for the Organtshee to take it. The Organtshee may take Abbas Kouli Khan along with the slaves." Abdullah came and told this to Joseph Wolff; Joseph Wolff said to Abbas Kouli Khan, "If you will take care of the money, well; if not I will pour it forth in the Desert; Ameer Sarog wishes to kill me for the money." Abbas Kouli Khan replied, "Ameer Sarog dare not do it; do not be afraid." Joseph Wolff was not satisfied with this. Abbas Kouli Khan then said to me, "Abdul Wahab, go into the room of Joseph Wolff, put the money in a bag, and seal the mouth of it with wax;" and he gave it into the hands of Ali Akbar, the baggage carrier. I went according to the order of Abbas Kouli Khan; I took the money of Joseph Wolff, put it in a bag, and sealed it with wax. I kept it till at Myandasht, where I gave it one night into the hands of Joseph Wolff. After he (Ali Akbar) had taken the money, Abdullah repented that he had told Joseph Wolff this circumstance, which induced him to give the money to the baggage guard.

From Sayen, three o'clock, remaining from sunrise, we set out on horseback, and came to Kirya Karab, and lodged in the garden; a guard was given us. We remained about the prisoners three days, until they had passed the Jehoon

(Oxus), and then proceeded to Jehaar-Joo, where we pitched our tent outside the tower, which was destroyed by the people of Organtsh. Abbas Kouli Khan inquired of the inhabitants of Jehaar-Joo respecting the way to Rafitak; their reply was that the way to Merve through Rafitak was near, but that the Organtshee had destroyed the wells. Abbas Kouli Khan spoke to Ahmed Beyk, the governor, to send some men by way of Rafitak to Merve, to dig wells, or to repair those which might have been partly destroyed.

After having remained four days in Jehaar-Joo to recruit a little, Abbas Kouli Khan and Dr. Wolff, with the Bokharese ambassadors, set off within three hours of sunset for Rafitak. After halting one hour at noon, we reached Rafitak. We stayed there one night, and on the next day, within three hours of sunset, we took the way to Auje Aajee. We had mounted our horses, when suddenly the Bokharese uttered an exclamation, that the Organtshee were coming. Abbas Kouli Khan despatched some men to ascertain whence these troops came. They returned to the Khan, and informed him that they were the troops of Ahmed Beyk, the Governor of Jehaar-Joo. One of the horsemen presented himself before Kouli Beyk, the commander of the horse, saying that he had a written order from His Majesty the Ameer to this effect. They were to demand one hundred and fifty pieces of gold, as a tribute for the slaves whom Abbas Kouli Khan had taken along with him from Bokhara. Kouli Beyk, having received the order of the King, came with it to Abbas Kouli Khan, telling him how the King demanded this sum as a tribute for passing the river, and that it was to be paid to Ahmed Beyk's men. To this Abbas Kouli Khan made answer, "What sort of a principle is this that you follow? If you granted me the slaves, why do you require tribute for them? And if you are for exacting tribute, why pass by the kindness we have done, for we furnished slaves whom you might take with you to Persia? Slaves certainly have no property of their own. The expenses of the inns, including hire, I defray out of my

own purse. I myself have no property that I should be able to pay you tribute for the slaves, and they have nothing to pay for themselves." They replied, "It is not so; one hundred and fifty pieces of gold must be had." Abbas Kouli Khan said hastily, "I will write a letter to the King of Bokhara, asking him what kind of a plan this is that he follows. If he desires the friendship of the King of Persia, why should he send this letter; or if he does not wish to cultivate his alliance, why should he have given the slaves leave to depart?" Abbas Kouli Khan, together with Sabhan Kouli Beyk, the chief steward at Court, wrote to the King about the money demanded, and sent an express to Bokhara.

The Bokharese horsemen going on with Abbas Kouli Khan, we went forward to the station of Auje Aaje. In the course of the way, Ameer Sarog, Abdullah, Mortesa, and Kaher Kouli, were talking together. They said, "If the Organtshee come up, let us kill Joseph Wolff, and carry off his property." They thought he had two thousand pieces of gold deposited in the chest. They had not learned that there was any money in the possession of Ali Akbar, or in the part where the chest of Abbas Kouli Khan was kept. From the first station to the last, Ali Akbar, who had charge of it, kept riding along by the side of it, in order that, if it could be prevented, no one might come against it.

Night and day, Abdullah, Ameer Sarog, Mortesa, and Kaher Kouli, were concerting plans about Dr. Wolff; I heard them talking together and concerting their plan. They said, "Let us make a quarrel between Abbas Kouli Khan and the Tūrkomauns. They will kill Abbas Kouli Khan, and we will kill Joseph Wolff, and carry off his property till we arrive at the station of Auje Aaje." The men of Abbas Kouli Khan and the Tūrkomauns began quarrelling at a well of water about the return to Bokhara. It happened that they were just returned from Bokhara. They bade us take care of the villany of Kaher Kouli, Ameer Sarog, Abdullah, and Mortesa. But it so happened that Abbas Kouli Khan, by one means or

another, such as giving them presents, kept the Tūrkomauns quiet till we arrived at the station of Merve Kahnah.

Sometimes Ameer Sarog came up to Dr. Wolff, saying, "Come out of the way of the desert, I will conduct you to Khiva, and from Khiva I will bring you by way of Mazanderaun to Teheraun." Dr. Wolff was for agreeing to it. Abbas Kouli Khan, when informed of what he had said, told Dr. Wolff, "They want to get you into the desert, and kill you, and carry off your property; and I who have brought you safe from Bokhara, shall not be able to entrust you to the care of the English Envoy, Colonel Sheil." Dr. Wolff then ceased to listen to him.

We set out from Auje Aaje, and having halted one hour at noon, we went on to old Merve. Here Abbas Kouli Khan and Dr. Joseph Wolff lodged in the house of the Khaleefa Abdarrahman. The Bokharese ambassadors, when they came, lodged in the castle.

Ameer Sarog said privately to the Tūrkomauns, "The Englishman has ten thousand pieces of gold: if you frighten him, and tell him you must have tribute for the slaves, he will give it you through fear. Abbas Kouli Khan also has a precious knife and sword. Let us take his property and kill him and sell his men to the Organtshee." We saw that the thousand Tūrkomauns and Abdullah conspired to execute it together with Mortesa. But praise be to God, He did not allow them to accomplish their design. Kaher Kouli began complaining to Dr. Wolff, and saying, "You did not give me any money, when you were at Bokhara; you must give me some here. If you don't, I will seize your property."

Dr. Wolff went to the tent of Abbas Kouli Khan to tell him. He replied, "As long as I am alive, no one shall speak in this way. Don't distress yourself—be quiet." He said to me (Abdul Wahab), "If Kaher Kouli comes, let me know; I will come and deal with him." When Kaher Kouli came, I brought him to Abbas Kouli Khan. The latter said to him, "I have heard that you have been more than once to Dr.

Joseph Wolff, demanding money: Heaven knows, if you do it again, I will take care that you suffer for it." Kaher Kouli, whatever he might before have received from Dr. Wolff, never demanded money from him again. He was kept in awe by Abbas Kouli Khan.

Ameer Sarog too never repeated his demand. However, he secretly excited a disaffection among the Tūrkomauns. One of them formed a plot. He took hold of the bridle of the horse of Abbas Kouli Khan and said, "We have no injunction from the King himself, but we have a strict charge from the minister, telling us that he does not release our prisoners, and as such we are to keep a strict watch over you. Whenever we have a command to that effect, we will let you go." Abbas Kouli Khan, who did not comprehend the drift of all this, looked at the servant of the King and said to him, "What is this you have in your minds? There is a perfectly good understanding between the King of Iraun and the King of Turaun. I will write a letter to the royal court, begging that a command may be given to the minister to send a certain number of soldiers, and the King of Bokhara, on his part, will send some, and together they will soon stop you."

Just at this time, a swift horseman whom they had sent from Rafitak to Bokhara, on matters connected with the tribute for passing the river and the tribute at Merve, arrived. A favourable letter was received from the King of Bokhara, addressed to Arak Chojah, the governor of Merve, and the chief of the Safeedan, a Tūrkomaun tribe, notifying to them that he had granted the slaves to Abbas Kouli Khan. We therefore paid no tribute. He further commanded them to pay all respect and attention to Abbas Kouli Khan, till he should have passed through his territory. The result of this courtesy of the King of Bokhara was, that the Tūrkomauns exhibited all due regard to him. They even sought his protection, beseeching him to receive acknowledgments from them, and expressing their fear, that if he did not, the minister would set their slaves at liberty. Abbas Kouli Khan also

gave the Khaleefa one shawl gown, and five pounds of tea; to one of his sons he gave a silk gown; and to another an excellent javelin.

He obtained information that the Tūrkomauns were making a conspiracy to fall upon himself by the way, to take him, and carry off the slaves to Khiva, to kill Joseph Wolff, and to seize his property. Abbas Kouli Khan gave directions to his servants, in case they should attempt to put their design into execution. The Khaleefa, being aware of their intention, took ten horsemen of the tribe of Salur, and twenty horsemen of the tribe of Saruk, and they came provided with spears to Abbas Kouli Khan, at the bank of the river Tekka, and partook of a meal with him at the bank of the river. On the next day the Khaleefa told the Tūrkomauns that he would accompany them with one of his sons, Rachman Werde, and would go with Abbas Kouli Khan by the river Sarakhs. The Khaleefa said, "You go with my son, Rachman Werde, and Abbas Kouli Khan, to Sarakhs; from Sarakhs he must return." At Sarakhs we were guests of Khan Saat. Abbas Kouli Khan and Joseph Wolff gave presents to Khan Saat, and then we went on to Olugh Baba There Abbas Kouli Beyk demanded a hundred and fifty tillahs for the slaves. Abbas Kouli Khan replied, "I have before now travelled from the State of Iraun to that of Turaun. I have had ten thousand pieces of gold to pay expenses. You, who are so great an ambassador, have not one hundred and fifty pieces of gold; and for this sum you are getting a bad name for your King." Sabhan Kouli Beyk replied, "I know nothing about the honour of the King, or of any one else; I must have one hundred and fifty pieces of gold." Abbas Kouli Khan said, "I have no ready money at my disposal, and the slaves have none of their own. From Bokhara to Meshed I am paying their expenses out of my own purse. Do not act in this way; you are going to Iraun yourself, and there you will have a bad name, and will deprive the King of Bokhara of all honour there." Sabhan Kouli Beyk replied,

"Give me one hundred and fifty pieces of gold for passage-money, and let the King of Bokhara be without honour; that is no concern of mine. If you give me this sum I shall go on to Iraun; and if you don't, I shall return to Bokhara with the slaves." Abbas Kouli said, "Very well! if you mean to take the slaves, take them." Sabhan Kouli Beyk directed the Iblāt, a Tūrkomaun tribe, living on the bank of the Sarakhs, to take the slaves, and carry them off,—to seize all the property of Abbas Kouli Khan,—to kill the Englishman, and to take his money. Once we saw about six thousand Tūrkomauns surrounding the tent of Abbas Kouli Khan and Joseph Wolff. They were all about the chests of Abbas Kouli Khan. I, Abdul Wahab, was aware of the necessity of defending them, because the property of Joseph Wolff was there; and I knew that if we neglected this, the Tūrkomauns would make a spoil of them. Ali Akbar was always kept stationed by the chests. Once the Tūrkomauns made an attack upon them. Ali Akbar came to me and said, "Make haste, and come to the chests." I came, and saw about fifty Tūrkomauns around them, with the design of plundering them. They had completely surrounded them, and were in every direction about Joseph Wolff. He went to Abbas Kouli Khan, and said to him, "The tribute for the slaves had better be paid out of the money that is deposited in the chests." He replied, "If this is done, the Tūrkomauns will be sure to repeat their conduct, and no one will be able to bear them."

Abbas Kouli Khan sent for Chajem Shakur, a person of consideration among the Tūrkomauns. When he came, Abbas Kouli Khan said to him, "How is it that there is all this trouble with the Tūrkomauns? If you seek tribute from the slaves, they have no property. From Bokhara to Meshed, I, out of mere kindness, pay their expenses. Do leave off acting in this monstrous way, and do not annoy the Englishman by going continually to his tent. Heaven knows, if you do the *slightest injury* to any of the people of

the caravan, the Government shall hear of it, and they will settle the matter with you." Chajem Shakur replied, "If either you or the Englishman suffer the least injury, even as much as a grain of mustard-seed, from the Tūrkomauns, I, Chajem Shakur, with my whole tribe, shall suffer by the Assaff-ood-Dowla." Abbas Kouli Khan made answer, "If you speak truly, go and tell the Tūrkomauns to disperse." Chajem Shakur made no reply, but obeyed Abbas Kouli Khan, went to the Tūrkomauns and told them to go their own way.

From the station at Alak, Abbas Kouli Khan, Joseph Wolff, and Sabhan Kouli Beyk, the Master of the Kitchen, together with Abul Kasem and myself, went towards Shorak. At Alak, Abbas Kouli Khan gave one hundred tillahs present and delivered it into the hands of Sabhan Kouli Beyk. The latter having received it, went off, and we made for the station of Shorak.

The English Government are aware that the aim of those employed in the Bokhara service is to preserve the honour of their King, and that the aim of Abbas Kouli Khan was the same with regard to the King of Iraun. He brought Bihzar Mahr, who had come from Bokhara to keep an especial eye towards the honour of the King of Iraun, to Joseph Wolff, accompanied by about a thousand, great and small, whom he had set at liberty, and the expense being defrayed, he took them to Meshed.

We next went to Mazduran. In the course of the journey, Mullah Mehdee Islaam Iadeed came to Joseph Wolff. At Mazduran we happened to pitch our tents close by that of Dr. Wolff, at the bank of the river. Joseph Wolff's great desire seemed to be to reach Meshed. From Mazduran we went to Chehar Gumbad. There, in the midst of the desert, Abbas Kouli Khan and Joseph Wolff pitched their tents at the bank of the river. Meer Abdul Kasem had said to Joseph Wolff at Mazduran, "You must give me presents previous to your entering Meshed; for I must enter

Meshed in the midst of the people with new trappings." Joseph Wolff replied, "The Envoy at Teheraun will give you a present." At Chehar Gumbad, Meer Abul Kasem sent his men forward to attend Joseph Wolff, in order that we might arrive on the next day at Meshed. He again said, "I have no good trappings. You must assuredly give me a robe of honour; for to-morrow we shall be entering Meshed." Joseph Wolff replied, "I have nothing but a single garment, a robe of honour, which His Majesty the King of Bokhara gave me as a present, and one Cashmeer shawl which I got for my wife. I must take the present of the Bāshāl with me to London. Meer Abul Kasem more than once said to Joseph Wolff in an outrageous way, "Let them go and fetch me the shawl that the Bashal gave you as a present." Dr. Wolff said that he had no choice; he gave the shawl to Meer Abul Kasem. But the latter was not satisfied with the shawl. He demanded money for it. Dr. Wolff was unable to endure this. He sent some men, and they took away the shawl again from Meer Abul Kasem, who remained degraded among the people.

Abbas Kouli Khan, Joseph Wolff, and the ambassadors, were treated with great respect and honour at Meshed. Joseph Wolff stayed in the house of the Jew, Mullah Mehdee, and the Bokharese ambassadors together in one house. At the arrival in Meshed, through the lapse of time, Joseph Wolff became very indisposed. They bled him plentifully. Each day Abbas Kouli Khan sent to inquire after his health, and very frequently went himself to see him. Hussein, the son of the minister of state, continually sent the Ferash Baashée (director of police) to attend upon Joseph Wolff. The latter sometimes sent Mullah Mehdee Islaam Iadeed to wait upon Abbas Kouli Khan. Joseph Wolff declared that the kindness he had received was unparalleled, and begged that Abbas Kouli Khan would accept the two thousand pieces of gold deposited in the chests, only reserving enough for necessary expenses. To this Abbas Kouli Khan replied, "All the kindness I have

shown was not for pecuniary reward, but to promote a good feeling between the governments of Iraun and England, and the money remains precisely as it has been entrusted to Ali Akbar who has charge of the chests. You might, with reason, have some fear on this point, when you were anywhere near Bokhara; but, thank heaven, there is no cause for such fear at Meshed." Sometimes Mullah Mehdee was for agreeing to what Abbas Kouli Khan said. Sometimes he inquired of me, Abdul Wahab, "How is it that Abbas Kouli Khan borrows money of the merchants, and does not use part of the money entrusted to him?" I gave answer, "Abbas Kouli Khan shows kindness for the sake of a good feeling between the two States, not for the sake of reward. And be assured of this much, that he has not touched, and will not touch, a deposit."

Joseph Wolff gave Ameer Abul Kasem, who was to go to England as ambassador, a Cashmeer shawl as a present. Hussein Khan, the minister of the Khakan, sent a splendid horse, as a present, for the service of Joseph Wolff. The minister of state sent a list of articles to Hussein Khan, which were to be sent in his name to Joseph Wolff. The articles were, a shawl from the Assaff-ood-Dowla, a horse, and sweetmeats.

The wish of all was to get away from Meshed. Abbas Kouli Khan saw that Joseph Wolff was unable to ride on horseback. He went to the apartments of Hussein Khan, and said to him, "Joseph Wolff is unable to ride; a takht-rawan (litter) should be prepared for him, that he may proceed by it." Hussein gave directions, through his Ferash Baashee, and they got one ready in five days. Joseph Wolff made use of this till he reached Teheraun. Abbas Kouli Khan, Mullah Mehdee, and all the people of the khafeelah (caravan) accompanied him till we reached Askariyah, distant one parasang from Meshed. Here Hussein Khan sent a Farash, *i. e.*, honorary guard, to Joseph Wolff.

From the station at Askariyah, we went on, satisfactorily,

five parasangs to Shareef Abad, and took our place on the side of a river. From Shareef Abad we advanced eight parasangs, and pitched our tent under the shade of some trees in the city Kadam-Gah. From this place we went on five parasangs quite comfortably, when we reached Nishapoor, and lodged at the caravanseray. The commander of the forces went to see Joseph Wolff, and took several presents along with him. We remained one day in Nishapoor, and on the next day we set off, and after travelling twelve parasangs, we reached Zagphranee, and took up our station at the side of a river.

From Saineen, which is under subjection to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, to the station in the midst of the desert lying towards Teheraun, Ali Akbar, who had charge of the chests, and myself, had no rest, day or night, on account of the two thousand pieces of gold, which had been entrusted to Abbas Kouli Khan; till the time when, at the station of Miyandasht, I delivered them into the hands of Joseph Wolff, in the presence of Mullah Mehdee.

From Zagphranee, we proceeded six parasangs to the city of Sabzawar, and remained outside the town. At every resting-place, from Bokhara to Geshlak, which is towards Teheraun, morning or evening, Abbas Kouli Khan took care to conduct Dr. Wolff from the station. This was the case as far as Geshlak, when he became safe on the way to Teheraun. From Sabzawar, we travelled seven parasangs to Sudchar. Joseph Wolff, accompanied by Mullah Mehdee, Ameer Pak, and the servants, stayed within the village; Abbas Kouli Khan and the Bokharese ambassadors outside. From the village of Sudchar we proceeded five parasangs to Mazynan, and stayed by the side of a river. Here Abbas Kouli Khan was treated with great honour. Joseph Wolff went from Mazynan, seven parasangs, to Abbas Abad, and stayed at the castle. Abbas Kouli Khan and the Bokharese ambassadors lodged at the caravanseray of Shah Abbas.

From Abbas Abad, six parasangs brought us to Miyan-

dasht. Dr. Wolff stayed at the castle. He several times wished Abbas Kouli Khan to accept of the two thousand pieces of gold which were contained in the chests, but he would not consent. Abbas Kouli Khan directed me to take the money to Mullah Mehdee, to be taken care of for Joseph Wolff; to show him the seal and deliver it up to him. Afterwards a note reached me, telling me to take the money and bring it back. I took it, and delivered it, as I was directed. A number of persons then came; I again took possession of it, to keep it for Abbas Kouli Khan.

From Miyandasht we went five parasangs to Miyamee. Here Abbas Kouli Khan and all the ambassadors lodged in the caravanseray. From Miyamee we advanced nine parasangs to the city of Shahrud, and stayed outside it. Joseph Wolff was at the castle. Abbas Kouli Khan came to him to inquire after his health. Next, Joseph Wolff, Abbas Kouli Khan, and the Bokharese ambassadors, went five parasangs to the village of Deh Mulla, and halted by the side of a river. Here Ameer Abul Kasem sent his son at night on a message to Joseph Wolff, to obtain money from him if he could. Dr. Wolff told him to go and bring a note from Ameer Abul Kasem, and then he would give him money. He said, "You have taken fifty pieces of gold and a shawl, and you are not satisfied." The son of Ameer Abul Kasem confessed in my presence that they had obtained one horse, one shawl, as well as money at different times from Joseph Wolff. Before the Ameer Achur he said, they had neither had horse, shawl, nor money. The Ameer Achur came; he concealed me, Abdul Wahab*, while Ameer Abul Kasem said to the Ameer Achur, "I have nothing to do with either money or shawl." The Ameer Achur replied, "Last night your son confessed, in the presence of Mirza Abdul Wahab, that his father had obtained one shawl and fifty pieces of gold. Ameer Abul Kasem saw that it was no use denying it. He could not help

* Here Abdul Wahab's words are illegible. J. W.

saying, "Well, I did have them." The Ameer Achur said, "Why did you act thus? you have been lying; and lies will not do in dealing with Europeans." Ameer Abul Kasem replied, "I am sorry for what I have done."

From Deh Mulla we proceeded six parasangs to Dāmagh n, and stayed outside the city. Thence we went forward four parasangs very pleasantly, to the city of Dowlat Abad, and lodged outside the castle. Thence we went nine parasangs, and reached Ahuwan, and lodged in the caravanseray at Shah Abbas. Next we went six parasangs to the city of Samnan. Joseph Wolff was here treated with great honour, and lodged in the royal palace. Abbas Kouli Khan and the Bokharese ambassadors lodged within the city. We remained one day to rest ourselves, and then advanced six parasangs. Joseph Wolff lodged in the castle at Laskird, in a house which heaven seemed to have provided for him. Hence six parasangs brought them to the town of Deh Namak. Joseph Wolff lodged in the castle, and Abbas Kouli Khan outside the city. In seven parasangs more we arrived at Geshlak, and halted at the side of a river. From Geshlak Joseph Wolff went with Mullah Mehdee, and all his own servants. Abbas Kouli Khan too went from Geshlak, advancing six parasangs to the city of Aburanak. At last, after seven parasangs they arrived at one city; after twenty parasangs, they reached another; and then after four more, they came into the country of Teheraun.

III.

Digest of English Policy relative to Asiatic States;

By CAPTAIN CONOLLY*.

May the Lord render easy (this attempt), and may it be well finished.

To my Friend the Prince, Lord of the Kingdom of Khwarazm.

After salutation and benediction, O Friend, in conformity with your wish, I have put in order, briefly, the circumstances of the English Government with the kingdoms of Hindustaun, Affghanistaun, Iraun (Persia), and Russia. When they (the circumstances) have reference to proximity, to distance, or to the places of Turkistaun, this sketch may prove of use to you as a memorandum; and I entreat of Your Majesty to investigate the correctness of it, as well by comparing it with historical books, as by questioning every one who may possess a due acquaintance with the above-named countries, and a (certain) person† may be unbiassed.

But the men of Turkistaun, for the most part, had not heard of the English people till half a year ago, when intelligence arrived that they (the English) had sent a large army to Candahar and Cabul, and had driven out the rulers of those countries, in the cause of Shah Shuja-al-Mulk Durrani, the former King of Affghanistaun, who had been during some

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* This important document was given to Dr. Wolff by order of the Ameer of Bokhara.

† This may allude to the Prince addressed, as if the writer trusted he would judge impartially.

years a guest of those (English) people in Hindustaun. Moreover, that after assisting and succouring Shah Kamran in the affair of the siege of Heraut by the Kajar army, they had dispatched one of their chiefs to Heraut, who for a length of time expended much money in repairing the walls of the citadel, as well as in restoring the cultivation (of the lands) which the Kajar army had devastated.

After various rumours, the report gained ground to this effect, "That Shah Shuja-al-Mulk was a puppet in the hands of the English, whose sole aim it was to seize for themselves all the region of Affghanistaun, either by force or bribery; and, also, that they wish to get all other countries, as much as possible, like as they had brought the kingdoms of Hindustaun, one province after another, into their possession, till they had rendered themselves absolute sovereigns of that region. Besides this, that they ought to break down (overthrow) the religion of Muhammed, so that they may abolish the Mussulmaun Institutes."

Yet, my patron! the real state of the affairs of the Indian Government, in Affghanistaun and in Tūrkistaun, was not rightly ascertained; but, at length, these reports of the common people obtained credit: the foundation of which may be referred to the enemies of the Government (may it be durable!) of the servants of Shah Shuja-al-Mulk, and their ally which the English Government is. The circumstances, which I shall here relate, are solely for the purpose of manifesting and proving the falsity of those reports, by means of exhibiting the correctness of conduct which the English have maintained in every country above named, from the beginning to the present time.

In the first place, let your mind be applied to a consideration of these circumstances in the countries of Hindūstaun. One hundred and fifty years ago, a company, in mercantile business, of the English people, who at that time had become one of the richest and most eminent of the nations of Europe, by reason of the extent of commerce which

they possessed in every quarter of the globe, obtained the permission of the Emperor Aurang Zeb, Sovereign of Delhi, and a descendant of Sultan Babar of Farghanā; and to settle in his country they got leave to build a port for themselves at Calcutta, which was then an insignificant village, near the salt sea of Hindūstaun; and, in a short time, through the collecting together of wealth, which is always the consequence of commerce, that little village was converted into a great city. Some years previous to the English becoming settled in Calcutta, they had obtained two other ports also on the sea coast of India, one of which was named Madras, and the other Bombay. Several European nations, in like manner, for the convenience of their trade in the country of Hindūstaun, had appropriated and established ports for themselves; the Rulers and Rajahs of Hindūstaun assenting, and desiring that the Europeans should form ports in their dominions for the purpose of trade, because they were sensible of a general benefit to themselves from the transit of merchandise. Moreover, as the above-mentioned nations paid all the expenses of forming their ports, they became wholesale proprietors of their ports; so much so that they had the right to make exchanges and transferences one with another: in this way, the port of Madras, which a Rajah of the Hindūs had granted to the English, and which remained some years in the hands of another European nation called French, and the port of Bombay which had originally been given to a great trading nation, called Portuguese, and which had been in their possession for the period of one hundred and thirty years, were transferred to the English.

It is also well known that, after the decease of Aurang Zeb, the power and splendour of the descendants of Timur in Hindūstaun turned to decline for the space of ninety-five years; so that the fifth Emperor of Delhi after the said deceased emperor, that is Shah Aulam, became entirely subdued and vanquished, and deprived of sight by the hands of an assemblage of Hindū Rajahs called Marhattas. At this time the

whole space of Hindūstaun became the theatre of war, slaughter, and devastation. In the mean time, the chiefs of Hindūs and Mussulmauns, every one of whom was seeking his own advancement as well as the ruin of others, and foreign nations, as, for example, the Persians in the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the Affghauns in the invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrāni, seeing the opportunity favourable to themselves, made inroads into those delightful regions: yet, for the space of fifty years after the death of King Aurang Zeb, the English people keeping aloof entirely from those contests remained at their posts, transmitting their merchandize to England as well as other ports.

Afterwards, in those times, some enemies from amongst the people of Hindūstaun, who were envious of the fortune and prosperity of them (the English) and ignorant of their means and resources, unjustly made an attack on them; but, previous to that violence of their enemies, the English had built for themselves the port of Calcutta. The English chiefs there made application for peace and ease; and as they had no other resource, they at last solicited aid from their own Sovereign. For a while, those unjust people became victorious, but eventually, by the right of war, the English took possession of their territory for retaliation and future protection. During some years, from the increase of the burning fire of the envy of other chiefs, who were less near, they found enough to do; for, continually, new and fresh enemies sprang up against them. The English chiefs wished for and sought no war; yet remained always prepared to repel aggression, and by divine favour they caused to break (or fail) every insurrection or attack of their opponents, till forty years ago, when having routed the forces of the Marhattas, before noticed, they beheld themselves masters of the greatest portion of India.

Some chiefs of Hindūstaun, at a more early epoch, contracted friendship and formed alliance with the English State, through favour of which they remained untouched: at length,

those who remained, contracted with them the bonds of friendship, sat under their State, became tributaries, and bound themselves by promises to commit the arbitration of all differences amongst themselves to the supreme English Government. Some, too, whose territories were more remote and away from the frontiers of the English State, made peace, saying, "we will remain in our own independence;" yet they promised that the countries appertaining to the English State should in no wise be molested. Of this kind was latterly Ranjit Singh, the Sovereign of the Sikh nation; and though formerly the Affghauns were dominant over the Sikhs, yet in these latter years, Ranjit Singh having become victorious, many of the provinces of those people are come under his sway, by reason of the domestic quarrels which have sprung up among the Affghauns.

In the manner just now described, the town of Calcutta, which had been raised solely for the purpose of trade, by reason of the violence and injustice of the opponents and the ignorant people of the other provinces of India, very soon became a new great (seat of) empire, and one of the multitude of various foreign provinces of the English State. Under the shade of this exalted State, the country of Hindūstaun has remained happy and prosperous in every way: and an army of two hundred thousand renowned regulars, together with materials for war in perfect condition, which the English Government keeps continually ready, is at most times occupied in military discipline against the day of need, lest any foreign foe should appear. And you must not form the idea that whatever tribute the English Government receives, they collect it for the purpose of transmission to the treasury in England; that is not the case: the tribute and revenues of India are expended in the government and for the advantage itself of that country. The profits, which the English people derive from the possession of that rich country, are such produce in various ways, as results from the complete enjoyment of its commerce.

The English Government, however able to do it, never meddles or interferes in the usages or the laws of the various people and nations of the natives there; for which reason those people remain content and happy. By conjecture, a seventh part of their subjects in that country are Mussulmauns, the rest mostly Hindūs; a few however are Jews, and Christians, and some others, as for instance the fire-worshippers. In regard to all the religious rights and temporal customs of the people of Islam, the law is fixed according to the rule of their ancient institutes, but in cases of doubt and of calling for evidence, the Muhammedan Cazis and Mullahs, are summoned to explain and direct the suit. The Brahman law too, which applies to the greater portion of the above-named people, is established according to their ancient practice and customs: and to all the subjects they (the English) have given protection, free from bias or partiality. Each individual enjoys like privileges with the whole body of the State; they give not preference to any one over another. The Government, too, never interferes in the religious matters of its numerous and mixed subjects, unless for the purpose of warding off disturbance, which possibly might be occasioned by the quarrelling of the different sects, for the English confess that there is One who owns the right of judgment with regard to the consciences and belief of man, viz. God Almighty, the Creator: and from this sentiment they act, with all caution and forbearance, in the point of religion everywhere. Therefore, Your Majesty, my friend, will decide as to what degree of truth there can be in the saying that they intend to advance their *power only;* as far as concerns the Mussulmaun faith it is a mere calumnious invention, to which artful people give publicity for their own purpose: and the assertion is wholly false, that when at any time their temporal goods are consumed, they labour to get possession of their neighbour's property, by exciting war and strife. Forty years ago, when the English chiefs vanquished the multitude of Hindūs, the Marhattas, as has been noted before, they found the blind

and helpless emperor, the descendant of Timur, viz. Shah Aalam, in the hands of the merciless plunderers. At that time what was their conduct towards that descendant of ancient friend Aurang Zeb? They brought him back to the city of Shahjahanābād, and settled on him and his posterity, from generation to generation, imperial titles and revenues.

Again, if that Friend, or His Majesty, will now turn his regard towards Rūm, the Turkish Empire, he will there see, that the English Government having formed an alliance with the Government of Russia, as well as with those of other of the greatest nations of the Christians, have leagued together to strengthen and support the Turkish Empire, which is the most eminent of the present Mussulmaun States; since it is apparent that the ruin and breaking up of the Turkish Empire would produce trouble in the kingdoms of Europe adjoining to Turkey. These are matters which have no connexion with sect or creed, but that which the Almighty has directed, when He commands all the people of the earth to live in peace and equity one with another; and in the opinion of the considerate and wise, like that Friend, or Your Majesty, (*i. e.*, the person addressed,) a history like that last recounted will have superior value over a hundred vague reports, however artfully fabricated or disseminated.

Now be pleased to turn the attention to the conduct and procedure of the English State in Iraun, Persia, and Affghanistaun. Near forty years ago, a very powerful people of Europe, named the French, who, at that time carried on war with the English nation, formed the design of stirring up trouble and commotion in Hindūstaun; but as the way by sea was closed by the ships of war of the English, a body of the French by land assembled on the frontiers of Persia, in order that from that quarter they might make an attack on Hindūstaun. Futt Ali Shah was friendly disposed towards the English Government, and as he did not perceive that, in injuring them, any advantage would accrue

to himself, he refused the request of the French nation; he made an agreement with the English Government, that on no account would he admit that hostile nation into the kingdom of Persia. During eight years Futt Ali Shah remained faithful to this promise; but at the close of this period, the French sent a message to this effect, that if he, the King of Persia, would befriend them, they would, for mutual protection, make war on the Russians, who were alike enemies to the Persian and French Governments. The English Government at that time was not able to assist the King of Persia, because it was at peace with the Russian Government. Futt Ali Shah, not knowing the exact state of feeling of his former friends, the English, brought several French officers to his capital of Teheraun, and requested that they would commence instructing and exercising the Persian army according to the rules of European warfare. At that time, the English Government thought it necessary to construct an additional barrier for the security of Hindūstaun: accordingly, Envoys were sent on the part of the Government of India to the Court of the chief of the Durranies, Shah Shuja-al-Mulk, who at that time ruled over the whole country of Affghanistaun; a treaty was entered into with that king, to the intent that, whenever it should be necessary, the two Governments of Affghanistaun and India should unite for the purpose of driving back and opposing the Guzl-bashis and their European associates. The English Envoys took leave of Shah Shuja-al-Mulk and returned towards India; but before they had had time to cross the frontier of Shah Shuja-al-Mulk's country, that Sovereign had been dethroned by his own brother Mahmud Shah. The English Government rendered no assistance at that time to Shah Shuja, because he wished that it should not interfere with the domestic quarrels of the Affghaun nation; he merely wished that it should unite with the Affghauns in repelling or attacking foreigners. But as the English Envoys had been treated with honour and respect at the Court of Shah Shuja-

al-Mulk, the English Government afforded that Sovereign royal protection in India, where, as an honoured guest, he resided for the space of thirty years.

After these events in Affghanistaun, which have just been explained, the King of Persia saw that the French were not able to afford him the necessary assistance in his war with Russia; he therefore sent away the French officers, and renewed his engagement with the English Government. It so happened, that during this interval the English Government had also become hostile to that of Russia, and it considered that the Persians would be a valuable obstacle to the Russians; therefore they agreed to a treaty in these terms, "that the warlike stores of Futt Ali Shah should be prepared in the best manner; they supplied him with officers who should instruct his army in the mode of managing European guns, and also with arms; they agreed also to pay him a yearly allowance of two hundred thousand tomauns, by way of assisting him in his preparations, so long as he should be at war with any European nation, and provided that the fault lay with that nation (and not with him)." The French unavoidably abandoned the design in India which they had entertained. The English officers, who were first sent to Persia for the purpose of instructing the Guzl-bashis, along with that corps, fought several battles with the Russians: after four years these hostilities were put an end to, because the English Government again became on a friendly footing with the Russians, and effected a reconciliation between the Emperor and the King of Persia. From that time to the present, the English and Russian Governments have continued on friendly terms with each other. The king of Persia, however, made war with the Russians, confiding in his own strength, by which he lost several of his most valuable provinces, which lie northwards to the shores of the Caspian Sea. By conquering these provinces, the Russian Government acquired considerable power over the remainder of the Persian dominions; the English Government had foreseen

this result, and had repeatedly advised the King of Persia not to contend (with the Russians), because in extent of dominion, and the means of making war, they were far superior to the Persians. Futt Ali Shah, however, disregarded this friendly advice of the English; and the latter, from a sense of justice, were not able to do anything more, though they saw, that they would necessarily suffer from the confusion as to the limits of the Persian Empire, and the diminution of its authority.

Hence it is plain and evident, that the practical wisdom of the English Government is exercised merely for its own preservation; and by considering this matter, it is seen and established, that the affairs which have lately occurred in Affghanistaun, rendered it necessary that the English Government, as often happens, should well consider the position and circumstances of the Saduzai Governments.

Some years after, Shah Mahmud had deprived Shah Shuja of his Government, the former murdered his minister, Fath Khan Barakzai, at the time that the numerous brothers of that minister, having become rebellious, were acting with oppression in all the provinces of the Affghaun Government, with the exception of Heraut, which was held by the Prince Kamran; and when Shah Mahmud found that his power was insufficient to recover his country, he took up his abode in the city of Heraut, until the time of his death. Several times after Shah Shuja-al-Mulk had retired into India, he was extremely anxious to recover his kingdom, but he had no treasure with which to enlist an army for that purpose, and his English hosts, true to their word, neither assisted him with men nor money; in fact, four years before this, the English Government had no idea that Shah Shuja-al-Mulk would again acquire authority in Affghanistaun, and at that period it sent an Envoy, named Mr. Alexander Burnes, into that country, in order that he might establish a friendly relationship with the various chiefs who were exercising government there; and that the trade of India might be freely exercised, and extended over the

countries to the west of the rivers Abbok and Indus. The Barakzai chiefs welcomed Mr. Alexander Burnes, because they hoped on all sides, that they might attain their objects by the assistance of other Governments; for example, the Barakzai brothers, of Kandahar, because they dreaded the King, wished for aid that they might ruin him, and take possession of his country; and the principal ruler of Cabul, Dost Muhammed Khan, particularly desired assistance, that, by means of it, he might bring under his rule the province of Peshawar, which Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Sikhs, had in war taken from his brother; and that, by this means, he might raise himself in Affghanistaun. To all the requests that the chiefs made to Mr. Alexander Burnes, that gentleman replied, that from the very first day of intercourse with the Affghaun nation; that is, during the space of twenty-eight years, the English Government had carefully abstained from any interference in its internal disputes, and certainly as to himself he had no wish to be mixed up with them in any way. Mr. Burnes further explained, that the Government of India was only desirous that its trade should be increased by means of the chiefs ruling Affghanistaun at that time, and that it hoped that these chiefs would respect each other's rights, and live together in peace and security; otherwise, it would not be possible that trade could be beneficially established with their country. Again, Mr. Alexander Burnes said, the English Government had no authority to request Ranjit Singh, who was a Sovereign possessed of independent power, to restore a country which, in open warfare, he had taken from his former enemies; but that the English Government was ready to effect a peace between the Sikhs and the Affghauns, so that there might be no recurrence of hostilities between them, and that Dost Muhammed Khan might remain peaceably in his present position. The Barakzai chiefs were not satisfied with these replies of Mr. Burnes; and previous to his coming into Affghanistaun, they had hoped that they might obtain their wishes by the assistance of Muhammad Shah Kajar, to whom

they had written petitions in the style of dependents, saying, "As the King of Persia was justly the heir to all the provinces of Affghanistaun, they entreated that he would march and assist them, his slaves, in their opposition to both Shah Kamran and the Sikhs." At the same time, all the chiefs preferred the aid of the English to that of the Persians; they therefore waited some time, for the purpose of seeing whether or not they could obtain the help of the Europeans. Mr. Alexander Burnes, however, always told them, that the English Government did not make promises; therefore, having no hope of assistance from that quarter, they then became busily engaged in their arrangement with the Persians. Muhammed Shah wrote to the Candahar chiefs and told them, "that if they would aid and assist the Kajar army, so that Heraut might be taken, the King of Persia would grant their request, provided they would only attend him to that place." He sent a message also to Dost Muhammud Khan, saying, "After the approaching New-year's day, the King of Persia will send you an army, so that you may settle matters with the Sikhs."

The English Government became thoroughly acquainted with these matters; because, on the one hand, the Bārakzāi Chiefs showed Muhammad Shah Kājār's letters to Mr. Burnes, in order that they might provoke him; and on the other hand, when the Envoy of the English Government, who was present at the Court of Muhammed Shāh Kājār, asked the servants of that King as to the purport of these writings and promises, he was told, that from a remote period, the country of Affghanistaun had been connected with Persia, and that the petitions, which on this understanding the Chiefs before mentioned had written, were shown to him. When matters came to this point, it became very necessary that the English Government should make a decided arrangement for its own protection; accordingly it clearly intimated to the Government of Cabul, "England will not permit you, by any stratagem, and merely to gratify your hatred and promote

your designs, to inflame the Affghaun nation by means of the Kajar King; nor will it allow you to bring a Guzl-bash army for the purpose of creating disturbance and commotion on the borders of India: if, therefore, you do not put an end to this treachery, the English Government will give its assistance to the Sadozai King, Shah Shuja-al-Mulk, who, from the first, was the cause of the friendship existing between the Governments of India and Affghanistaun, and who, no doubt, will act in a just and manly manner towards both countries." By these means it became perfectly clear that King Muhammed Shah Kajar, by any right or possession, had no authority over any one in the Durrane country; therefore, his claim was considered by Shah Kamran as an affair between two separate and independent rulers. The commencement of this affair occurred not a year before this happened; therefore it is necessary to recur to the circumstances of that period. When Abbas Mirza, the heir apparent of Persia, manifested a design of assembling an army at the point of Heraut, the English Envoy, who was in attendance on Futt Ali Shah, asked what was intended by it; and that since the plain intention of the treaties, which the English Government had entered into with the Governments of Persia and Affghanistaun, was to increase the security of India, it was at all times important that the English Envoy, who resided at the Court of Teheraun, should be well acquainted with all the affairs of the King of Persia, lest, by any of those affairs, the designs of the English Government should in any way be thwarted. Futt Ali Shah replied, "That the object of that expedition was, that Abbas Mirza might completely prevent, and put a stop to, a system of plunder, and the selling of human beings, which were carried on by several of the dependencies of Heraut, in connexion with the Tūrkomauns of Mowr, and the neighbouring places." The English Envoy then answered, "That as the King of Persia was an independent sovereign, the English Government allowed that, when another nation acted with violence, oppression or even incivility towards either his

country or subjects, he, the King of Persia, had a perfect right to obtain redress by force of arms; but as the English Government was at peace with the Affghauns, it could not permit war in any part whatever of the Affghaun dominions; on this account, therefore, the English gentleman, who belonged to the Kajar army, did not in that expedition attend the Deputy of Persia (*i. e.* Abbas Mirza). For the same reason, after the accession of Muhammed Shah, the English Envoy, who constantly resided at his Court, in the same manner, asked, "What was the reason for the assembling of an army on the borders of Khorassaun, and the adjacent countries?" He was told the object was, that the "King (of Persia) might accomplish those designs which his father had commenced." At this time, also, the gentlemen of the English Government were not supplied with any other answer than that which they had before given to Futt Ali Shah.

After a little time, however, the events which have been already mentioned occurred; then, quite another story was told; when the English Envoy first spoke to the servants of Muhammed Shah Kajar respecting the affair of Heraut, the latter personage confessed that he should be well pleased to make peace, and he gave his consent that that Envoy, who was entitled "Minister Plenipotentiary," and whose name was Mr. Mac Neil, should be a mediator in the affair. And when Shah Kamran saw, that, although Heraut was a strong fort, yet, from the abundance of artillery, and the superior manner in which the Kajar army was equipped, it must, ultimately, be taken and destroyed, he likewise was willing that the before-mentioned Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy should, by means of negotiation, settle his affairs: therefore, Mr. Mac Neil used his best efforts to bring the business of Heraut to an amicable conclusion. He thought and considered, that an army, which comes to make war in a country, or to besiege a city, whether in the end it succeed or not, by the ruin and confusion which it inflicts on all the inhabitants, is able in one month to destroy the cultivation and population of a thousand

years; and that, by the great injury (it does) to the Government, it will destroy the wealth and power which, in (their) prosperity, the inhabitants may have acquired. Again, wherever a "torch from the fire of war bears a spark," no person can calculate how far it will consume.

After much correspondence with the servants of the two Governments at Meshed, Teheraun, and Heraut, Mr. Mac Neil obtained, from Shah Kamran himself, a written agreement to this effect: "That the taking away slaves from the borders of Persia, and selling them, should cease, and that all anxiety and hostility should be completely stopped and ended; further, that every Guzl-bash slave in the country of Heraut, as far as was possible, should be restored (to his country), and that proper protection and treatment should be observed towards all Persian merchants and travellers who might arrive at Heraut." And in order that the cause of anger and alarm, which had brought Muhammed Shah to these parts, might be set aside, Mr. Mac Neil declared, "If the King of Persia would at once desist from the siege of Heraut, and stop the war, he would affix the seal of the English Government to the written declaration of Shah Kamran as a security (for the fulfilment of that) declaration of the King of the Saduzais." But Muhammed Shah then said, "That he would be satisfied with no other conditions, than that the whole of the people of Heraut should be subject to the Government of Persia." When Mr. Mac Neil distinctly stated, that the English Government reckoned the Affghauns a completely free people, and considered them as the first barrier in behalf of India; and as the King of Persia, by his unwillingness to give even necessary answers on the subject of Heraut, and by his dealings with the Barakzai Chiefs, had plainly shown that it was his intention, by his own means, to break down that barrier, and diminish the security and tranquillity of India, the English Government would prevent his designs by all the means that it thought proper.

Agreeably to this declaration, the following message of

comfort was despatched to the men in the fort of Heraut: "You will receive aid and assistance from the English Government; therefore, at all hazards, you must continue to fight and not give up the fort." And as the Barakzai Chiefs showed no fear or concern at the statements of the gentlemen of the English Government, the Government of India necessarily assisted Shah Shuja-al-Mulk, that he might again recover Candahar and Cabul. At that time, also, the English Government dispatched an army from India by sea; it landed on an island called Kharak, near the port of Bushir (in the Persian Gulf), which belonged to the Government of Persia. When the King (of Persia) obtained intelligence of these affairs he withdrew his army from the siege of Heraut with the exception of some (men) who retained possession of Ghorian, and two or three other places which belonged to Heraut. The English Government stated, "That it would not remove its army from the island of Kharak until the Persians restored Ghorian, and the other dependencies of Heraut, to Shah Kamran." Therefore, by reason of this declaration, the Governments of Persia and England have had no intercourse with each other.

At last comes the subject of the English Government interfering with the affairs of Affghanistaun. When the Government of India promised Shah Shuja-al-Mulk that it would give him its assistance, in gaining possession of the countries of Cabul and Candahar, that Government explained to that illustrious Sovereign, that it merely wished to see the Affghaun nation strong and firm in its own authority, and that it had no desire, in any way, to interfere with the internal arrangements of his country; but that, in serving him, it did wish, that as Shah Kamran had displayed great energy in the defence of Heraut, the Government of Shah Shuja should acknowledge the distinct authority of that province of the Affghaun (Empire). To this Shah Shuja consented; a treaty was entered into accordingly, and the Government of India set about fulfilling its engagement. From the first, it was agreed

that the English army should remain no longer in Shah Shuja's country than might be considered advisable for the purpose of restoring order to that unsettled country, or the warding off any external injury, which (otherwise) might be adverse to the interests of India and Affghanistaun. According to this agreement, the English army was to return whenever Shah Shuja might think proper. Afterwards, in order that the empire of Cabul might in future be secured from any external attack, the English Government was willing to give to the Durrani King the same assistance which, during the last few years, it had given to the King of Persia; namely, that several officers should be lent to him, for the purpose of instructing his army and remaining in attendance upon him.

On the subject of the money which the English nation expended in Heraut, and which was mentioned at the commencement of this letter; that money was expended in consequence of the English sending a message to the effect, "that although ruin might befal the inhabitants of Heraut, still they were to manage to take care not to surrender the fort." In truth, sums of money were on this account expended by Mr. Tod, who was the special English Envoy at the Court of Shah Kamran; and (in fact) the English Government has faithfully performed whatsoever it was bound to do, with regard to the desolation caused by the Kajars; but no sum of money would be adequate to remedy the ruin and confusion caused by the attack of the Kajar army, and years must pass away, before a single inhabitant of Heraut can sit beneath the shade of a tree. May God, the Most High and Benevolent, avert such a terrible desolation from all other countries! It is equally advantageous to the Affghauns as to the English, that the whole of Tūrkistaun should remain free and unembarrassed; and the Affghaun and English Governments are willing to assist in this object, provided the Uzbeck chiefs will be friendly with them, and will act with justice and equity towards other Governments. There are only two nations—namely, the Russians and Persians—who it is

thought wish to change the present state of Tūrkistaun; unless the practice of rushing upon and capturing their people, which, up to this time, the dependencies of the Usbeck Government have practised, shall be completely stopped. It is good that this vile practice should be abolished. With regard to any nation that may have had the power and opportunity of putting a stop to such a custom, and yet always refuses to do so, and whenever the demand for justice shall not be sufficient, (then) there are only two remedies; either to make an attack on the principal cities of the chiefs who allow their subjects to commit such acts of oppression, or to limit their boundaries, and take possession of such places as that from them, the offending people, may be restrained by force. There is no room to doubt that the Russian Government has the power to apply its own remedy; hence the Sovereign of that magnificent Empire has clearly shown that he wishes to increase its power, whenever it may be necessary (to employ it), for the protection of his people.

According to the notion of this Friend (*i. e.* the Writer), the Persians will be able to apply their remedy, whenever they may collect their forces, and return towards Tūrkistaun. Now I proceed to state, in your presence, several reasons for my embracing this opinion. The bravery and courage of the Usbecks and Tūrkomauns are well known to the whole world; but at present they do not possess the warlike stores which the Persians have, and can easily procure; and the experience of many years and of different countries has completely established (the fact) that a numerous body of horsemen, armed with swords and undisciplined, cannot stand against a park of fire-scattering artillery and a few brave but disciplined men. (It is my) opinion that the power of the Persian Government is greater than what the people of Tūrkistaun imagine. For some years that Government (the Persian) has been in an unsettled state, principally in consequence of external wars, attended with immense expense, which the

Kajar King has had on every side; but now that he is at peace with his two ancient and powerful enemies, *viz.*, the Russian and Turkish Governments, it is only necessary for him to cast his eye over the numerous provinces and large cities which are now comprised within his Empire, that he may be convinced that only a small amount of peace and order is required, and he would quickly become rich and powerful. And with regard to the military force which the King now possesses, it is clear, when two years ago he had it in his power to bring to the siege of Heraut an army of forty thousand men and eighty mounted guns, that it cannot be reckoned less now. Again, up to the time of Muhammed Shah's last dispute with the English Government, respecting the affairs of Affghanistaun, the commanders and instructors of the Persian army were Englishmen, who again withdrew, and at times when their services were most wanted, because they could not make war on the friends of the English Government. This circumstance happened at the commencement of the war which the Government of Persia had with the Governments of Russia and Turkey, and also on both occasions when Abbas Mirza and Muhammed Shah led their armies into the country of Heraut; therefore, the power and capability of the Kajar army have not, as yet, been well ascertained. And besides, Abbas Mirza, on his last expedition into Khorassaun and the countries adjacent, showed, notwithstanding the disordered state of his country, that the brave Guzl-bashis were capable of rendering effective service; and without doubt, if the English Government had not, in several ways, used its exertions, they would not have driven back the army of Muhammed Shah from Heraut. The country of Persia is contiguous to all the countries of Europe; and, from them, the Kajar King can at all times procure the best of arms, also commanders and instructors in proportion to his ability to pay them, who, having properly arranged his army, and provided they were not prevented by treaty, would be willing to make war whenever the King of Persia might send

them. In truth, it is well known that after his last separation from the English Government, Muhammed Shah procured from the French, who are well acquainted with the science of war, muskets for thirty thousand brave (men), and several commanders for the purpose of instructing his army. In consequence of the English gentlemen not continuing in Persia after what had occurred at Heraut, I am not acquainted with the present state of the army of that country; but I have no doubt that Muhammed Shah will put it in order for the purpose of attacking Tūrkistaun; it may be, that he will not come this spring, or during the next summer, but he will certainly come soon; therefore, I consider it very necessary and important that the Uzbeck Chiefs should consider and make proper arrangements for future events.

From the observations (already) written, you will have discovered that the English Government does not wish either the Kajar or Russian nation to go beyond their present limits in the direction of India; not because of any feeling of hostility that it entertains towards those nations, but merely as a matter of precaution; and it is necessary, that this observation should be well understood before we prove it; the Persian nation especially should be told on the contrary, that regarding the affairs of Affghanistaun, the English Government was on perfectly friendly terms with the King of the Kajars, and exerted itself that his Empire should, by every means, obtain honour and prosperity. Even now the English entertain no feeling of enmity towards the Guzl-bash nation (the Persians); and as to the dispute between Muhammed Shah (Kajar), it has an intimate connection with the rights of Kings (in general); and when this affair shall be settled, no cold-heartedness will remain between the two Governments. The English wish that this reconciliation should speedily take place, because enmity and disunion are a source of injury to any State. The English will at all times be anxious that Persia should be happy and prosperous within her present limits; (they will desire this), on account of the ·ent friendship which they have maintained with the Kajar

Government, as well as their own peculiar benefit; for, when (Persia) is at rest, and in easy circumstances, her trade with England and India is of considerable value.

During the last two years, however, the King of Persia has been pleased to obtain his own objects without considering whether he was injuring or benefitting the English; and as the Persians have now become more or less dependent on other nations, and at some period will probably be excited to interrupt the tranquillity of India—under these circumstances, the English Government cannot consent that the frontier of Persia should be extended to the eastern side of Khorassaun.

On the subject of the Russians.—When the English for a short time had a dispute with the Russians, and afterwards exercised caution and watchfulness lest a future injury should arise (from it), some people thought that the English entertained a secret feeling of enmity to them; and others, that the Russians had a design on India; but (all) these ideas were wrong: the truth of this particular matter is this, that from the time when the English and Russian Governments made a renewal of treaties, during a period of twenty-eight years, they entertained the same feeling of friendship towards each other, and the welfare of each Government became united by the great amount of trade which, between the two countries, was flowing towards Europe from the side of the Black Sea; and this is the best of ties, because it cannot be broken, except with complete injury to both parties.

In the different countries which intervene between their respective boundaries eastwards, the English and the Russians have an equality of trade, and therefore it may sometimes happen, that one or two individuals will strive to increase the power of the Government to which they belong in an unwarrantable manner; for instance, in the last affair with Affghanistaun the Russian Ambassador who was at that time stationed at the Court of Persia, and the Envoy of the same nation, who was sent to Cabul for the purpose of ascertaining the best means whereby to increase the trade between

that country and Russia, both associated themselves with Muhammed Shah, and the Barakzai Chiefs, whose designs and wishes they laboured to accomplish; but, as soon as the Emperor of Russia was informed of what they had done, he disavowed the acts of both his servants, and after recalling them, dismissed them from their employments; (and) as at the same time, the King of England approved of what the Emperor had done, it became quite evident to the whole world, that mutual friendship existed between them. Besides this, that Friend (*i. e.* His Majesty) has himself seen to what extent the Emperor of Russia showed kindness to the servants of the English Government, who in those days proceeded from Khiva for the purpose of establishing peace between the Governments of Russia and Khwarazum. May God, the Most High, grant that the friendship and unity of the English and the Russians may never again suffer interruption!

But, as we have before shown, altercation has happened between the two Governments, and may possibly occur again; because, with regard to affairs which were under human observation, no person in this unstable world can predict what a single day may bring forth. Nations that are at war will strive to injure each other in every way: so that the English saw, that when the French wished to injure them in India, it became therefore only an act of prudence that a barrier should be formed on the frontier of their dominions, to prevent their sustaining any harm from the attacks of foreigners.

The Russians also exercised a similar degree of caution. The best protection that India would have, would be a collision between the Persian and Russian Governments. Notwithstanding the powerful and friendly Governments which exist between the limits of the English and Russian Governments, this is quite certain, that the English Government would, with men and money, assist in protecting and putting the Affghauns into a proper state of defence; for the same reason, it wishes that the Uzbeck States should be completely free and independent of Persia and Russia; nay more, that

they should be prosperous, and (sufficiently) strong to keep in their possession the places which properly belong to them. Therefore, the English Government will at all times be ready and willing to become the cause of peace and concord between the Uzbeck States and any of the nations before mentioned; by this means also, it wishes to increase its friendship with the Uzbeck States; and by exchanging the profits of trade between India and Tūrkistaun by means of the Affghauns, the English Government wishes to have friendship with both these nations, and that they should both derive benefit from this trade. The English do not tell the Uzbecks to consider the Russians and Persians as enemies, and that they should trade and have intercourse only with the English; on the contrary, they tell the Uzbecks that they should make those nations their friends, by forming with them just and proper treaties with respect to the rights both of rulers and people; nay, more, they tell them, that with regard to trade, they should, without partiality, act alike towards all foreign nations, and should allow them to derive every advantage from the intercourse, and that they are able to supply them with the best and cheapest goods.

Now, be pleased to pardon the trouble I have occasioned you, together with the boldness of these pictures, as well as errors and omissions of their style! Because my Mirza Husaini was weak and helpless, and therefore I had no remedy, but to describe my mission myself. Being the well-wisher of this State, and also of the Uzbeck States, I have without ceremony, written according to the measure of my knowledge.

Finally, it is necessary the Uzbecks should well consider their own power and well-being; and whatsoever is to happen is in the hand of God!

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